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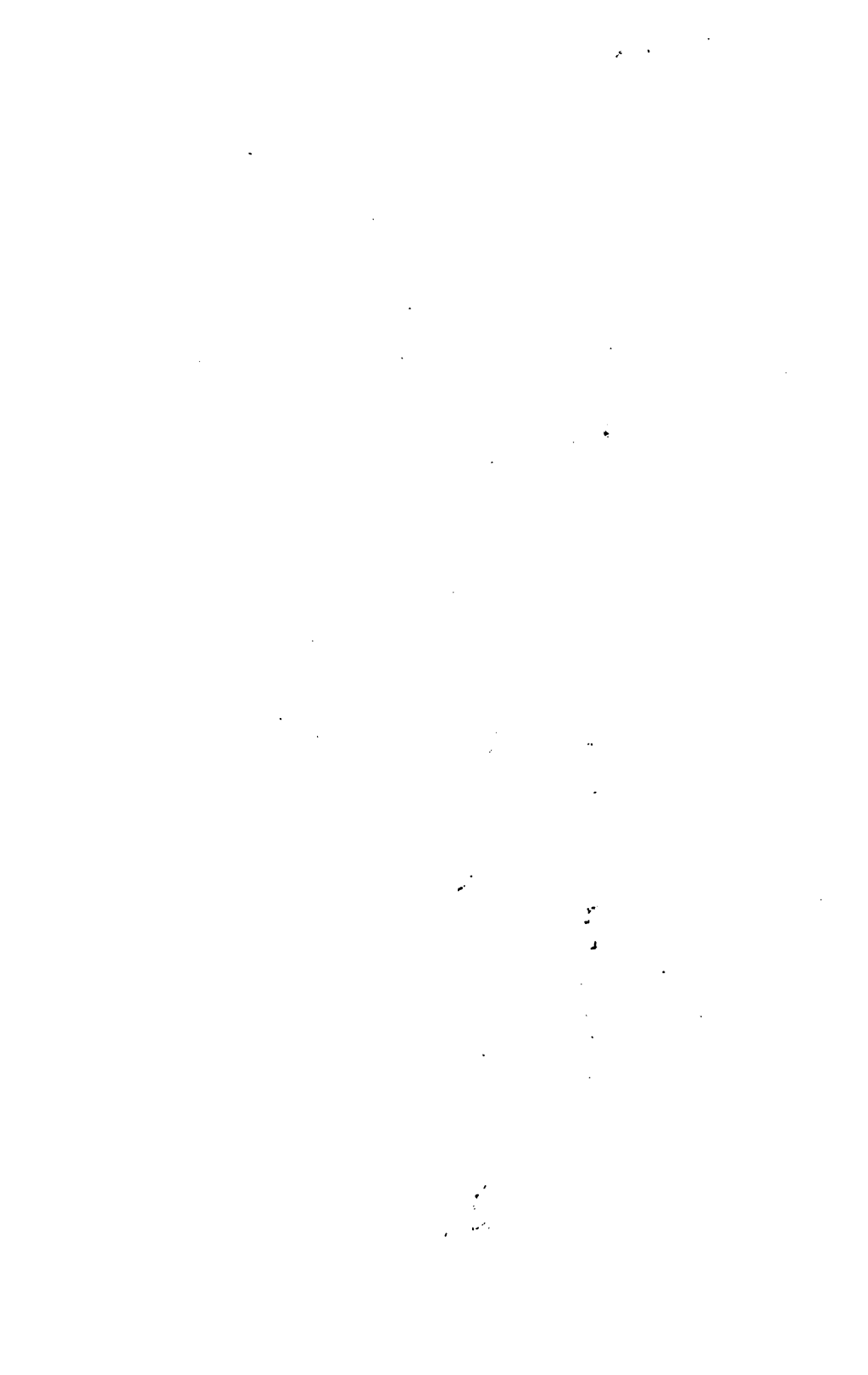




A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA.



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MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES

OF INDIA :

TO WIT,

HINDI, PANJABI, SINDHI, GUJARATI, MARATHI,
ORIYA AND BANGALI.

BY

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ETC., ETC.

VOL. III.

THE VERB.



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ERRATA.

PAGE LINE

- 3, 19, for *this much* read *such*.
 10, 9, for मङ्गीत read मञ्जुति.
 14, 28, for *different* read *difficult*.
 19, 21, for पुरयति read पूरयति.
 21, 26, for निषोतितत्वं read निषी-
 दितत्वं.
 34, 3 from below, for *Pali* read *Prakrit*
 36, 8, for *bhāla* read *bhala*.
 39, 26, for चत्तिष्ठत् read उत्तिष्ठत्.
 44, 2, for *detu* read *dehi*.
 47, 26, *dele* that.
 50, 16, for मज्ज read मज्ज.
 50, 18, after *word* a full stop instead
 of a comma.
 52, 13, for *discharged* read *discharge*.
 56, 5, for 90 read 38 (ed. Stenzler).
 56, 7, for °विशम° read °विषम°.
 57, 28, for कृष read कृष्ट.
 58, 5, after *Pali* a full stop instead
 of a comma.
 61, 25, for *hladid* read *hlatu*.
 63, 4, for *masj* read *majj*.
 65, 9, for तळ read ऋळ.
 70, 12, for *phrase* read *phase*.
 73, 16, for नारी read मारी.
 83, 24, for साडाहज read साडाहज.
 105, 6, for बल्ले read चल्ले.
 112, last but one, for मरसी read करसी
 114, 21, for अम read अम.

PAGE LINE

- 124, 1, *dele* comma after *hearing*.
 134, 6, for छोडेसो read छोडेसी.
 135, 29, after *dielala* insert *f.*; for
dielat', etc., read *délat'*, etc.
 140, 31, for सिङया read सिचया.
 141, 19, for भति read भीत.
 149, 24, for *asmāh* read *asmaḥ*.
 154, 29, for चाक्का read चावया.
 162, 7, for माहलो read माहलो.
 163, 2, the words 'aorist सुटो' should
 be put between brackets.
 175, 29, for *Ludhiana* read *Lodiana*.
 176, 5 from below, for *Pr.* read *P.*
 178, 18, for *Nuanti* read *Nuhanti*.
 179, 24, for दखा read देखा.
 196, 10, for 'Daughter' read 'Laughter.'
 196, 17, for खनि read रचिनि.
 202, 2 from below, for 59 read 60.
 214, 4, for *Imperfect* read *Imperative*.
 225, 29, for दहती read रहती.
 250, 17, for *Imperfect* read *Imperative*.
 254, 5, for *Oriya* read *Aryan*.
 257, 3, for नाजा read राजा.
 262, 22, for कथ्य read कथा.
 262, 23, for प्रमानं read प्रमाणं.
 262, 23, for लोयं read लोमं.
 262, 23, for *its* read *as*.
 263, 6, for *H.-D.* read *K.-D.*
 267, 9, for सहित read सहित.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 1. STRUCTURE OF THE SANSKRIT VERB.—§ 2. BEGINNINGS OF THE ANALYTICAL SYSTEM IN SANSKRIT.—§ 3. CONJUGATIONS OF THE PALI VERB.—§ 4. TENSES OF THE PALI VERB.—§§ 5, 6. THE VERB IN JAINA PRAKRIT.—§ 7. SCENIC PRAKRIT VERB.—§ 8. APABHRANÇA VERBAL FORMS.—§ 9. THE MODERN VERBAL STEM.—§ 10. PHASES OF THE VERB.—§ 11. SINGLE AND DOUBLE STEMS.—§ 12. SINGLE NEUTER STEMS FROM SANSKRIT *BHŪ* ROOTS.—§ 13. THE SAME FROM OTHER CLASSES OF SANSKRIT ROOTS.—§ 14. MODERN NEUTER STEMS FROM SANSKRIT PASSIVE PAST PARTICIPLES.—§ 15. SINGLE ACTIVE STEMS.—§ 16. TREATMENT OF SANSKRIT ROOTS ENDING IN A VOWEL.—§ 17. THE STEM *DEKH*.—§ 18. DOUBLE VERBS.—§ 19. SINDHI DOUBLE STEMS DIFFERING IN THE FINAL CONSONANT.—§ 20. DOUBLE STEMS DIFFERING IN VOWEL AND FINAL CONSONANT.—§ 21. DOUBLE STEMS DIFFERING ONLY IN THE VOWEL.—§ 22. EXAMPLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.—§ 23. LAWS OF THE FORMATION OF MODERN STEMS.—§ 24. THE PASSIVE INTRANSITIVE.—§ 25. THE PASSIVE.—§ 26. THE CAUSAL.—§ 27. THE PASSIVE CAUSAL.—§ 28. THE CAUSAL IN A NEUTER SENSE.—§ 29. SECONDARY STEMS.—§ 30. REDUPLICATED AND IMITATIVE STEMS.—§ 31. GIPSY VERBAL STEMS.

§ 1. The Sanskrit verb, with its long array of tenses, intricate phonetic changes, and elaborate rules of formation, seems to have been subjected at a very early period to processes of

simplification. Indeed, we may be permitted to hold that some, at least, of the forms laid down in the works of Sanskrit grammarians, were never actually in use in the spoken language, and with all due deference to the opinions of scholars, it may be urged that much of this elaborate development arose in an age when the speech of the people had wandered very far away from the classical type. Even if it were not so, even if there ever were a time when the Aryan peasant used polysyllabic desideratives, and was familiar with multiform aorists, it is clear that he began to satisfy himself with a simpler system at a very distant epoch, for the range of forms in Pali and the other Prakrits is far narrower than in classical Sanskrit.

Simplification is in fact the rule in all branches of the Indo-European family of languages, and in those we are now discussing, the verb follows this general law. To make this clear, it may be well to give here, as a preliminary matter, a slight sketch of the structure of the verb as it stands in the Sanskrit and Prakrit stages of development.

In that stage of the Sanskrit language which is usually accepted as the classical one, the verb is synthetical throughout, except in one or two tenses where, as will be hereafter shown, the analytical method has already begun to show itself. By separating the inflectional additions, and unravelling the euphonic changes necessitated by them, we may arrive at a residuum or grammarian's abstraction called the root. These roots, which have no real existence in spoken language, serve as useful and indispensable pegs on which to hang the long chain of forms which would otherwise defy all attempts at reducing them to order. Some writers have lately thought fit to sneer at the philologist and his roots, and have made themselves merry over imaginary pictures of a time when the human race talked to each other in roots only. These gentlemen set up a bugbear of their own creation for the purpose of

pulling it to pieces again. No one, as far as I am aware, has ever asserted that at a given period of the world's history a certain race of men used such words as *bhú*, *gam*, or *kar*, till some one hit on the ingenious device of adding to *bhú* the word *ami*, and, modifying *bhú* into *bhava*, burst upon his astonished countrymen with the newly-discovered word *bhavâmi*, "I am." What has been asserted, and truly too, is that in Sanskrit we find a large number of words expressing the idea of "being," in which the consonantal sound *bh* is followed by various vowels and semivowels, which, according to phonetic laws, spring from the vowel *ú*, and that as, for scientific purposes, some common generic term is required to enable us to include under one head all parts of the verb, we are justified in putting together these two constant unvarying elements, and so obtaining a neat technical expression *bhú*, to which, as to a common factor, can be referred all the words expressive of "being" in its relations of time, person, and condition. Analysis and arrangement of this sort is an essential part of every science, and the native grammarians had done this much work for us before European skill was brought to bear on the subject.

Verbal roots, then, are grammarians' tickets, by which actual spoken words are classified and arranged in groups for convenience of investigation. The roots in Sanskrit are mostly monosyllabic, consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel, as *bhú*, *yá*, *nt*, or of a vowel followed by a consonant, as *ad*, *ish*, *ubh*, or of a vowel between two consonants, as *kar*, *gam*, *pat*. Roots may also consist of a single vowel, as *i*, and in the place of a single consonant there may be a nexus, as *grah*, *pinj*, *mlai*. Those roots which have more than one syllable are usually of a secondary nature, being in some cases produced by reduplication, as *jágar*, in others made from nouns, as *kumâr*.

Each verbal root presents six phases or grades of action: active, neuter, passive, causal, desiderative, intensive. All these are distinguished by certain modifications of the letters

of the root, and by certain prefixed and affixed syllables. Thus $\sqrt{\text{bh}}\acute{\text{u}}$, "to be," undergoes the following modifications :

<i>Active</i>	}	bhava.
<i>Neuter</i>		
<i>Passive</i>		bhûya.
<i>Causal</i>		bhâvaya.
<i>Desiderative</i>		bubhûsha.
<i>Intensive</i>		bobhûya.

The causal also is in some cases treated as primary stem, and gives rise to subsidiary forms; thus from *pâtaya* "cause to fall," is made a passive *pâtya*, whence comes a desiderative causal *pipâtayisha*.

Each of these six phases may be conjugated throughout thirteen tenses, in each of which are nine forms representing the three persons of the singular, dual, and plural. It rarely happens in practice that any one verbal root exhibits the whole of these forms, but if we regard the general type, we may fairly say that a Sanskrit verb, as an individual entity, is an aggregate of seven hundred and two words, all agreeing in expressing modifications of the idea contained in the root-syllable, which is the common inheritance of them all.¹ Of the thirteen tenses, nine are conjugated according to certain rules which, with some exceptions, hold good for all verbs in the language, but the remaining four tenses are subject to rules by which they are divided into ten classes or conjugations. These four are the present, imperfect, imperative, and optative; and before we can determine what form a verbal

¹ Namely, 6 phases \times 13 tenses \times 9 persons = 702. But this is an extreme calculation, for the Subjunctive (Let) is only found in Vedic Sanskrit; and the two forms of the Perfect (Lit) may be regarded as variations of the same tense. Thus the number of tenses may be reduced to ten, viz. Present (Laṭ), Imperfect (Lañ), Optative (Liñ), Imperative (Loṭ), Perfect (Lit), Aorist (Luñ), Future (Lṛṭ), Conditional (Lṛñ), Second Future (Lut), Benedictive (âs'ir Liñ). By this reckoning the number of forms would be $6 \times 10 \times 9 = 540$.

root can take in any of these tenses, we must know what conjugation it belongs to.

Inasmuch also as the Sanskrit grammarians class the active and neuter phases together, we must find out which of these two phases any given verb employs, for the terminations of the tenses and persons are different. Some verbs employ both, but the majority are conjugated only in one of the two, and as there is no rule as to which of the two is to be used, the dictionary is our only guide. The active, or *Parasmaipada*, as it is called, stands to the neuter, or *Âtmanepada*, in the same relation as the active in Greek does to the middle voice, and the resemblance is the greater, in that the *Âtmanepada*, like the middle voice in Greek, uses the terminations of the passive.

Although each of the seven hundred and two words which make up the complete typical Sanskrit verb contains the common root-syllable, yet this syllable does not appear in the same form in each word, but is subject to certain euphonic and other influences which affect both the vowels and consonants composing it, and often materially alter its shape. Thus the verbal root *KAR*, "do," appears in classical Sanskrit in the following forms :

1. कृ *Kṛi*, in 1 du. pf. Par. *chakṛiva*, 1 pl. id. *chakṛima*, 2 s. pf. *Âtm. chakṛishe*, 1 du., 1 and 2 pl. id. *chakṛivahe*, *chakṛimahe*, *chakṛidhve*; in the whole of the 1 aor. *Âtm.*, as *akṛishi*, *akṛithdh*, *akṛita*, etc.; in the pass. part. *kṛitah*, and gerund *kṛitôâ*, and in the benedictive *Âtm.*, as *kṛishta*, etc.

2. क्री *kri*, in bened. Par., as *kriyâsam*, *kriyâh*, *kriyât*, etc., and in the passive present, as *kriye*, *kriyase*, *kriyate*, etc.

3. कर् *kar*, in pres. Par., as *karomi*, *karoshi*, *karoti*, and before all weak terminations.

4. कुरु *kur*, in pres. *Âtm.*, as *kurve*, *kurushe*, *kurute*, and before strong terminations.

5. कार् *kâr*, in pf. Par., as *chakâra*, and 1 aor. Par., as *akârsham*, also in the causal, as *kârayati*.

6. कृ *kr*, in 2 and 3 pl. pf. Par., *chakra*, *chakruh*, and 1 and 3 s. pf. *Âtm. chakre*.

In the same way the root *CRU* "hear," appears in some parts of the verb as *çri*, in others as *çru*, *çrú*, *çriñ*, and *çrāv*. In the whole range of verbal roots there is perhaps not one which does not undergo more or less modification in the course of being conjugated.

Not only does the root-syllable present itself in various forms in the several tenses, but the terminations of the nine persons differ in each tense, and sometimes one tense will have two sets of terminations. Moreover, the endings of any given tense in one phase, differ from the corresponding ones of the same tense in another phase. Thus the terminations of the present tense are in the active phase

Singular	1. ami.	2. si.	3. ti.
Dual	1. avah.	2. thah.	3. tah.
Plural	1. amah.	2. tha.	3. nti.

But in the middle phase the same tense ends in

Singular	1. i.	2. se.	3. te.
Dual	1. avahe.	2. ithe.	3. ite.
Plural	1. amahe.	2. dhve.	3. nte.

This slight outline will suffice to show how vast and intricate are the ramifications of the Sanskrit verb. The reader who has followed the steps by which the noun has been simplified, as shown in the second volume of this work, will not be surprised to find in the present volume how widely the modern verb differs from that of Sanskrit. It was impossible to reduce the verb to anything like the simplicity required by modern speakers without sacrificing by far the greater portion of the immense and unwieldy apparatus of ancient times.

§ 2. Owing to the want of a continuous succession of literary documents, such as exists in the case of the modern Romance

languages of Europe, it is scarcely possible to trace step by step the changes which have occurred in the verb. It is necessary, however, to make the attempt, and to piece together such evidence as we have, because the modern verb is an undoubted descendant of the ancient one, though only a slight trait here and there recalls the features of its parent, and its structure in many points can only be rendered intelligible by tracing it back to the ancient stock whence it sprung.

The first steps in the direction of simplification occur in Sanskrit itself. Many of the elaborate forms cited by grammarians are of very rare occurrence in actual literature, and some of them seem almost to have been invented for the sake of uniformity. Three instances of this tendency in classical Sanskrit may here be noticed.

The perfect tense in Sanskrit, as in Greek, is usually formed by reduplication, so we have from √ तप् "burn," pf. तताप, √ दृश् "see," pf. ददर्श, just as *λείπω* makes *λέλοιπα* and *τέρω*, *τέτροφα*. But there are certain roots which cannot take reduplication, and these form their perfect by an analytical process. The root is formed into a sort of abstract substantive in the accusative case, and the perfect of an auxiliary verb is added to it. The verbs भू "be," अस् "be," and कृ "do," are the auxiliaries principally employed for this purpose. Thus—

√ उद् "wet," makes pf. उंदा चकार, उंदा बभूव or उंदा आस.

√ चकास् "shine," ,, ,, चकासा चकार, etc.

√ बोधय "explain," ,, ,, बोधया चकार, etc.¹

Another instance of the analytical formation is seen in the future tense made out of the agent of the verb with the present tense of the auxiliary अस् "be." Thus from √ बुध् "know," comes the agent बोधिता, which with the present of अस् makes

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| S. 1. बोधितास्मि | P. 1. बोधितासः |
| 2. बोधितासि | 2. बोधितास्यः |

¹ Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 172.

A third instance is a form of phrase in which the passive past participle is combined with this same auxiliary चस् to form a perfect definite, as आगतोऽस्मि "I have come," or, as more faithfully represented by other European languages, "je suis venu," and as we sometimes say ourselves, "I am come." Here an analytical construction supplies the place of the perfect. Closely allied to this is the frequent habit in writers of the classical style of expressing the same tense by the neuter of the p.p.p. with the subject in the instrumental, as तेन गतं "by him gone," *i.e.* "he went," instead of जगाम.

These are the first faint indications of a method which, in the course of ages, has developed to such an extent as to constitute the leading principle in the organization of the modern verb. By this system a greater facility for expressing nice shades of meaning is obtained. जगाम may mean "he went," or, "he has gone," but by the other system each of these two meanings has a phrase peculiar to itself, गतोऽस्मि meaning "he has gone," and तेन गतं "he went." Precisely in the same way the Latin had only *ego amavi* for "I loved" and "I have loved," but the Romance languages found this insufficient, and they have—

	"I loved."	"I have loved,"
French	j'aimai	j'ai aimé.
Italian	io amai	io ho amato.
Spanish	yo ame	yo he amado.

§ 3. The next step in the reduction of the numerous Sanskrit tenses to a more manageable compass is seen in Pali, originally an Indian Prakrit, but which became the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, having been carried thither in the middle of the third century¹ before Christ, by Mahendra, son of King Açoka, and spread thence to Burmah and Siam.

¹ Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik, p. 1. But Turnour, Mahawanso xxix., gives s.c. 307. So also Childers, preface, p. ix.

Although the Pali grammarians, in their anxiety to exalt their sacred speech, tell us that the verb has ten conjugations, yet examples of all these are but rarely found.¹ Four of the ten Sanskrit conjugations, the first, fourth, sixth, and tenth, resemble each other very closely even in that language, and are easily brought down to one in Pali. The seventh of Sanskrit also loses somewhat of its peculiar type, which consists in inserting ऋ between the vowel of the root and the final consonant, or ञ before weak terminations. Thus in Skr. √ रुध् *rudh*, "to obstruct," makes its present रुधति *runaddhi*, but in Pali, while the ऋ is retained, the present is *rundhati*, after the type of the first class.

Five out of the ten Sanskrit conjugations are thus reduced almost, if not entirely, to one. Of the remaining five, the second of Sanskrit in roots which end in a vowel exhibits some traces of Sanskrit forms, while in those which end in a consonant the types of the first, or *Bhû*, class prevail. Thus Skr. √ चा "to go," pr. चाति, Pali also *yāti*, but

Skr. √ मृञ् "to rub," pr. मर्ष्टि. Pali *majjati*, as if from a Skr. मर्षति.
 √ दुह् "to milk," ,, दोग्धि. ,, *dohati*.
 √ लिह् "to lick," ,, लेडि. ,, *lehati*.

The third conjugation occasionally takes the reduplication as in Sanskrit, but in many instances prefers the *Bhû* type. Thus

Skr. √ भी "to fear," बिभेति. Pali भायति.
 √ धा "to hold," दधाति. ,, दधाति and दहति.

The verb *dā*, "to give," which belongs to this conjugation, has special developments of its own, and is discussed in § 16.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth classes are very similar even in Sanskrit, for while the fifth adds णु to its root, the eighth adds ष; but as all its roots except one already end in ण, it

¹ Seven classes are given by Kaccāyana. See Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, vi. série, vol. xvii. p. 439.

comes practically to pretty much the same thing as the fifth. The ninth adds ञ्, ञा, and ञी to the root before various terminations. Here Pali draws very slight distinctions, making verbs of the fifth class take जु and ञा indifferently, and both fifth and ninth appear occasionally in the guise of the first. Thus—

Skr. √ श्रु "hear," v.	श्रुणोति.	Pali सुणोति and सुणाति.
√ बन्ध् "bind," ix.	बध्नाति.	„ बंधति.
√ कृ "do," viii.	करोति.	„ करोति.
√ मन् "think," viii.	मनुते.	„ मञ्जति.

The reason why the forms of the Bhû conjugation exercise so great an influence, and, like the *-as*-stem in nouns, so largely displace all the other types, is probably that the first conjugation is by far the largest, containing upwards of nine hundred out of the two thousand roots said to exist in Sanskrit. The second conjugation has only seventy-three, the third but twenty-five, the fourth and sixth about one hundred and forty each. The tenth, it is true, contains four hundred, but it is identical in form with the causal. The fifth has only thirty-three, the ninth sixty-one, while under the seventh class are twenty-five, and under the eighth only nine. These figures, it must be added, are taken from the Dhâtupâṭha, a grammarian's list of roots,¹ which contains many roots seldom, if ever, found in use, so that for all practical purposes the first conjugation covers more than half the verbs in the language. When it is also remembered that the fourth, sixth, and tenth differ but slightly from the first, it is not surprising that the terminations common to these four conjugations should have fixed themselves in the popular mind, and been added by the vulgar to all roots indiscriminately. Nearly all those verbs which retain the type of any conjugation, except the first, are words of extremely common use, which would naturally keep their

¹ Westergaard, Radices Sanskr. p. 342.

well-known forms in the mouths of the people in spite of all rules and tendencies to the contrary.

§ 4. The dual number has entirely disappeared from Pali, and the *Âtmanepada*, or middle phase, has practically merged into the active, for although *Kaccâyana* (*J. As.*, vol. xvii. p. 429, *sûtra* 18) gives terminations for it, yet it is admitted that those of the active may be used instead, and practically it would appear that they are so used. The other phases, as causal, passive, desiderative, and intensive, have their own forms as in Sanskrit.

Among the tenses the chief is the present, and it is in Pali that we first find a tendency to retain throughout the whole verb that form of the root which is in use in the present. This tendency grows stronger in the later Prakrits, and becomes an almost invariable rule in the modern languages. Thus—

Skr. √ पच् "cook," present	पचति.	Pa. पचति.
future	पच्यति.	„ पचिस्सति.
aorist	अपाचीत्.	„ अपचि.
gerund	पक्त्वा.	„ पचित्त्वा.

Phonetic influences in Sanskrit change this root as regards its final consonant in the different tenses, but Pali, having got hold of the form *pach* in the present tense, retains it throughout the verb. It is still, however, only a tendency, and not a law, for we find instances in which Pali forms are derived directly from the corresponding tense in Sanskrit. One who should attempt to learn Pali without reference to Sanskrit would find it difficult to understand how the words *karoti*, *kubbati*, *kayirā*, *kāhāmi*, *akāsi*, *kattum*, could all spring from the same verbal root. It is only when the corresponding Sanskrit forms *karoti*, *kurvate*, *kuryāt*,¹ *kartāsmi*, *akārshāt*, *kartum*, are put by their

¹ Or more strictly from an older *karyāt* not in use in classical Sanskrit. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, 106.

side, that the thread which connects them all becomes evident. Just so in the Romance languages, Italian *so, sa, sapete, sanno, seppi*, seem to have very little beyond the initial *s* in common, till it is perceived that they come from the Latin *sapio, sapit, sapitis, sapiunt, sapui*; thus, also, *ho* and *ebbi* can only be seen to be parts of the same verb when their origin from Latin *habeo* and *habui* is recognized. In Spanish there is the same difficulty, as will be seen by comparing *hacer, hago, hice, hare*, and *hecho*, with their Latin originals *facere, facio, feci, facere habeo, and factum*. In Portuguese, which seems to be the lowest and most corrupt Apabhraṅga of the Romance Prakrits, the changes are such as almost to defy analysis. For instance, *ter, tenho, tinha, tive, terei*, correspond to Latin *tenere, teneo, tenebam, tenui, tenere habeo*: also *hei, houve, haja, to habeo, habui, habeam, and sou, he, foi, seja, to sum, est, fui, sit*.¹

The tenses of the Pali verb are eight in number.² These correspond to the tenses of the Sanskrit verb, omitting the periphrastic or second future (luṭ), the benedictive (âçir liñ), and the subjunctive (leṭ). The present active is almost exactly the same as the Sanskrit as regards its terminations in the Bhû form, and the middle only differs, and even then very slightly, in the 1 and 2 plural. Thus—

Skr. 1 pl. पचामहे. 2. पचध्वे.

Pa. 1. पचाम्हे. 2. पचद्धे.

In this tense, as in many others, Pali is not very instructive, it clings too closely to the Sanskrit. It is, however, necessary to give a sketch of its forms, because they exhibit the first traces of that gradual change which has led to the modern conjugation. Even when the Pali conjugates a verb according to

¹ Diez, Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p. 188.

² The materials for this section are taken chiefly from Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 93 *seqq.*, with some additions from Childers's Dictionary, and a few remarks of my own.

any class other than the Bhû, it still keeps the personal endings of Sanskrit for that conjugation ; thus from √ या “go,” we have—

Pa. S. 1. यामि, 2. यासि, 3. याति; P. 1. याम, 2. याच, 3. यांति.

which differs from Sanskrit only in omitting the visarga in P. 1.

The imperative follows the type of the present, and may be thus compared with Sanskrit Parasmaipada,

Skr. S. 1. पचामि, 2. पच, 3. पचतु; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचत, 3. पचंतु.

Pa. S. 1. पचामि, 2. पचहि, 3. पचतु; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचच, 3. पचंति.

and with the Âtmanepada, thus—

Skr. S. 1. पचे, 2. पचस्व, 3. पचतां; P. 1. पचामहि, 2. पचध्वं, 3. पचतां.

Pa. S. 1. पचे, 2. पचस्तु, 3. पचतं; P. 1. पचामसे, 2. पचद्भो, 3. पचतं.

Here the S. 1 Parasmai seems to have arisen from some confusion with the present, as also P. 2. Noteworthy is S. 2, with its ending हि, which, though only found in classical Sanskrit in the second, third, seventh, and ninth conjugations, has crept into all in Pali, and has continued on into the mediæval period, thus Chand

तिन सु गद्द चच्छी कहहि।

“Say thou a good word of them.”—Pr. R. i. 9.

where कहहि = Skr. कथय (हि). In Vedic Skr. हि appears in all the conjugations. Of the Âtmane forms P. 1 seems to be derived from an older form, *masai*. P. 2 should perhaps be read *hoo*, not *who*, in which case it is a regular resultant from Sanskrit *dho*.

The potential is the Sanskrit optative (lin), thus—

PARASMAI.

Skr. S. 1. पचेयं, 2. पचेत्, 3. पचेत्; P. 1. पचेम, 2. पचेत, 3. पचेयुत्.

Pa. S. 1. पचेय्यामि, 2. °य्यासि, 3. °य्य; P. 1. °य्याम, 2. °य्याच, 3. °य्यु.

ÂTMANE.

Skr. S. 1. पचेद्य, 2. पचेद्यात्, 3. पचेत्; P. 1. पचेमहि, 2. पचेध्वं, 3. पचेरन्.
Pa. S. 1. पचेध्वं, 2. पचेद्यो, 3. पचेद्य; P. 1. पचेज्जाम्हे, 2. °ज्जो, 3. पचेरं.

In this tense the point specially to be noticed is the tendency to simplify not only the root-syllable, but the range of terminations also. Having got the syllables *eyya* as the type of the tense, Pali seeks to avoid all further distinctions, and to use as much as possible the personal endings of the present tense. It sometimes conjugates the potential according to the types of other classes, and in this respect follows the lead of the present less faithfully in this tense than in the imperative. Thus, though in the present and imperative of *kar*, it follows the Sanskrit, and has *karoti*, *karotu*, yet in the potential it treats *kar* as if it belonged to the *Bhû* class, and has *kareyyāmi* as though from a Sanskrit *kareyam* instead of the actual *kuryām*. There are other peculiarities about this tense which are not here noticed, as having no bearing upon the subject of the modern languages.

The imperfect has been, to some extent, mixed up with the aorist (*luñ*), and both, together with the perfect, lead us into considerations which are of interest only for Pali itself, not having survived or had any influence on modern developments. They may therefore be passed over as immaterial to our present inquiry.

The future, on the contrary, offers many interesting peculiarities, especially, as will be seen hereafter, in reference to Gujarati and some of the rustic dialects of Hindi. The future is a different tense in the modern languages, and every scrap of information which can help to elucidate it deserves special notice. It runs thus in Pali ($\sqrt{\text{गम्}}$ "go")—

Skr. S. 1. गमिष्यामि, 2. °ष्यसि, 3. °ष्यति; P. 1. °ष्यामस्, 2. ष्यथ, 3. ष्यंति.
Pa. S. 1. गमिस्सामि, 2. °स्ससि, 3. °स्सति; P. 1. °स्साम, 2. स्सथ, 3. स्संति.

Here the only noteworthy feature is the change of च् into स्त. The Âtmanepada follows the same rule throughout. Although the tendency to keep that form of the root which exists in the present leads to divergences from the Sanskrit future type, yet instances occur in which the Sanskrit type is preserved. These occur in reference to that very troublesome feature in the Sanskrit verb, the intermediate इ, which is sometimes inserted between the root and the termination, and sometimes not. When it is not inserted, the euphonic laws of Sanskrit require that the final consonant of the root be changed to enable it to combine with the initial consonant of the termination. Thus √ पच "cook," when it has to take the future termination च्ति, becomes पक् and पक् + च्ति = पच्यति. Here Pali sticks to the form पच्, because it is used in the present and makes its future पचिस्सति as though there had been (as there probably was in colloquial usage) a Sanskrit future पचिच्यति with the intermediate इ inserted.

In a certain number of verbs, however, it has two forms, one as above retaining the root-form of the present, and the other a phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit. Kuhn¹ gives the following examples, to which I add the Sanskrit for comparison.

Skr. √ लभ् "get,"	future लप्स्यते.	Pali लच्छति	but also लभिस्सति.
√ वच् "speak,"	वच्यते.	वक्खति.	
√ धा "put,"	धास्यति.	धक्खति.	
√ वस् "dwell,"	वत्स्यति.	वक्खति	but also वसिस्सति.
√ छिद् "cleave,"	छित्स्यति.	छेक्खति	छिंदिस्सति.
√ भुज् "eat,"	भोज्यति.	भोक्खति	भुजिस्सति.
√ मुच् "loose,"	मोच्यति.	मोक्खति	मुचिस्सति.
√ श्रु "hear,"	श्रोष्यति.	शोस्सति	शुजिस्सति.

¹ Beiträge, p. 115.

The consonantal changes are in accordance with the treatment of the nexus as explained in Vol. I. p. 304. The striving after uniformity is seen, however, in the retention of the alternative forms having the same type as the present, and it is, moreover, worth observing that the forms which reproduce the type of the Sanskrit without the intermediate *इ* seem by degrees to have been misunderstood. The illiterate masses, and even those better instructed, seem to have missed the *issati* which so generally indicated to their minds the future tense, and regarded those forms which had not this familiar sound as present tenses. So they made double futures by adding the *issa* to them. Thus from *दृश्* "to see," future *द्रक्षति*, Pali made a form *dakkhati*, but the people by degrees took this for a present, and made what to them seemed a more correct future *dakkhissati*. I mention this here as I shall have occasion hereafter to discuss the much-debated question of the origin of the familiar modern stem *dekh* "see" (see § 17). Another instance is

Skr. √ शक् "be able," future शक्सति. Pa. सक्वति, whence vulgo सखिस्सति.

In one case Pali has a future which points back to a Vedic form :

Skr. √ रुद् "weep." Vedic future रोत्सति. Pa. रोच्छति.
Classic ditto रोदिषति. „ रोदिस्सति.

Occasionally the स्स is softened to ह, as in काहति, काहिति from करिस्सति, Skr. करिषति. This is noteworthy with reference to Bhojpuri and the eastern Hindi dialects generally.

§ 5. It used to be held that Pali was a descendant of the Māgadhī dialect of Prakrit, but this opinion is now, I believe, exploded. Though the question is not yet set at rest, it would seem to have been fairly established that Mahendra was a

native of Ujjayin, and that the language which he carried to Ceylon was the ordinary vernacular of his own province.¹ This dialect was not very different from that of Magadha, and Mahendra may have slightly altered the Mâgadhi sayings of the great master, by his Ujjayini pronunciation, while retaining the name Mâgadhi out of deference to the sacred associations which clustered round the birthplace of Buddha.

Be this as it may, the nearest Indian dialect to Pali seems undoubtedly to be the Prakrit of the Bhâgavatî, a sacred book of the semi-Buddhist sect of Jainas. If Hemachandra, himself a Jain and author of several works on Prakrit, were available for reference, our task would be easier; as yet, however, none of Hemachandra's writings have been printed or edited. Weber's articles on the Bhâgavatî are at present our only source of information.²

In the Jaina Prakrit the ten conjugations of the Sanskrit verb are, with few exceptions, reduced to the Bhû type. In this respect it goes further than Pali, treating as verbs of the first conjugation many which in Pali retain the type of other conjugations. The fifth, seventh, and ninth conjugations, which in Sanskrit insert ऋ with certain variations, are all reduced to one head by regarding the ऋ as part of the root, as is also the case with the ऌ of the fourth class. The *a* inserted between the root and termination of the Bhû class is used throughout, though occasionally weakened to *i*, or changed to *e* from some confusion between this and the *e* = *aya*, which is the type of the tenth class. The following examples will illustrate the above remarks.

¹ Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 7.

² Pischel's admirable edition of Hemachandra's Grammar (Orphanage Press, Halle, 1877) has reached me just as this work is going to press, and too late to be of use for this edition, except for a few hasty notes here and there. Mueller's Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprakrit came into my hands about the same time. I find it enables me to add a few illustrations to this section, which, however, was written in the latter part of 1875.

Skr. √ ह "take," i. हरति	Jaina हरति, हरद्.
√ विद् "know," ii. वेत्ति	„ वेद्देद्.
Pl. 3 विदन्ति	„ वेद्देति.
√ धा "put," iii. दधाति	
with अपि, अपिदधाति	„ पिद्देद् "puts on (clothes)" and पिद्देद्.
√ सिद्द् "succeed," iv. सिद्ध्यति	„ सिद्ध्यद्.
but आराध् "propitiate," आराध्ति	„ आराद्देद्.
√ आप् "get," v. आप्नोति.	
with प्र, प्राप्, प्राप्नोति	„ पाद्दयद्, the न being treated as part of the root.
√ चि "gather," v. चिन्वोति	„ चयति, चयद्, but also चि- नाद्, with the same confusion between the नो of v. and ना of viii. as occurs in Pali.
√ श्रु "hear," v. श्रुष्योति	
with प्रति, प्रतिश्रुष्योति	„ पश्चिसुषेद् "promises."
√ स्पृश् "touch," vi. स्पृशति	„ फुसेद्.
√ भञ्ज् "break," vii. भजन्ति	„ भञ्जद्.
√ क् "do," viii. करोति	„ करद्.
√ ग्रह् "take," ix. गृह्णाति	„ गेयद्, here again the ष has passed into the root.
√ ज्ञा "know," ix. जानाति	„ जायद्.

The tenth class being identical with the first is omitted. It will be seen that the present tense is formed throughout on the model of the first conjugation, the Jain words given above being phonetic modifications of words which would be in Sanskrit respectively *harati*, *vedati*, *dhâti*, *ârâdhati*, *prâpanati*,

chayati, sunati, bhanjati, karati, grihñati, and jānati, if all those verbs belonged to the first or Bhû conjugation.

It is not so easy to draw out a full verbal paradigm in this dialect as in Pali, because we have as yet no grammars, and are obliged to fall back on the words that occur in a single text. The range of tenses appears to consist of a present (corresponding to the Sanskrit *laṭ*), imperative (*lot*), potential (*liñ*), imperfect and aorist jumbled together as in Pali, and future (*lrit*). The perfect (*liṭ*) seems to be altogether wanting, as it is in the modern languages.

The present runs thus :—√ *जम्* "bow."

S. 1. *जमामि*, 2. *जमसि*, 3. *जमति*; P. 1. *जमामो*, 2. *जमह*, 3. *जमंति*.
जमेमि, *जमेसि*, *जमेति*; *जमेमो*, *जमेति*.
जमद्; *जमंति*.
जमेद्.

Those terminations which contain the vowel *e* have crept into the conjugation of all verbs from the tenth, to which that vowel, as shortened from *aya*, must be held strictly to belong, or to causals. Thus in Bhâg. i. 60, we have *phāseti, pāleti, sobheti, treti, pūreti, kitteti, anupālei, ārāheḥ*, for Sanskrit *स्पर्शयति, पाष्यति, शोभयति, तारयति, पुरयति, कीर्त्तयति, अनुपाष्यति, आराधयति*, respectively. In the last word the causal form becomes the same as the active given above. Of the imperative we have only the S. 2 and P. 2, which are in fact the only persons which an imperative can properly have. The S. 2 takes the ending *हि* as in Pali with junction vowels *ā* and *e*, the P. 2 ends in *ह*, which, as Weber points out, is from the P. 2 of the present, in Sanskrit *च*. Thus—

Skr. √ *हच्* "shine," causal *रोचय*, impv. *रोचय*, Jaina *रोएहि*.

अज्ञा "believe," " *अज्ञेहि*, " *सहहाहि* (pres. *सहहद्*).

√ *बंध* "bind," impv. P. 2. *बन्धीत*, " *बंधह*.

The potential, of which only the S. 3 is traceable, resembles Pali in using the termination *eyya* with variant *ejja*.

Skr. √ गम् "go," S. 3. गच्छेत् Jaina गच्छेज्, गच्छेज्ज.

√ ग्रह् "take," ,, गृह्णीयात् ,, गेयहेज्ज.

But there exist some old simple forms derived by phonetic changes from the corresponding Sanskrit tense, as *kujja* = *kuryât*, *dajja* = *dadyât* (Mueller, p. 60).

The future resembles that of Pali, thus—

S. 1. गमिस्सामि, 2. °इस्ससि, 3. °इस्सह; P. 1. °इस्सामो, 2. °इस्सह,
3. इस्संति.

It also appears with a termination *ihî* produced by weakening *स्स* into *ह* and the following *a* to *i*, thus—

Skr. गमिष्यति, Jain गच्छिहिति and गमिहिति.

Moreover, there is a trace of the double future like Pali *dakkhissati*.

Skr. √ पद् "go," with उप, उपपद् "attain," future उपपत्स्यते, Jaina उववग्गिहिति.

Here उपपत्स्यते would phonetically become उववच्छह, and by still further softening उववच्छह, whence, as if from a present, is formed the future उववग्गिस्सह and उववग्गिहिति.

§ 6. The reduction in the number of tenses necessitates a greatly extended use of participles. This is one great step in the transition from the synthetical to the analytical system. The Sanskrit present active participle takes in that language the characteristics of the ten conjugations, and is declined as a noun in three genders. It ends properly in *ant*, but the nasal is dropped before certain terminations, as

M.	F.	N.
पचन्	पचन्ती	पचत्.
बंधन्	बंधती	बंधत्.

The nasal, however, is retained throughout in Jaina Prakrit, thus—

Skr.	ज्वलन्	ज्वलन्ती	ज्वलत्.
Jaina	ज्वलन्तो	ज्वलन्ती	ज्वलन्तं.

This peculiarity is worth remembering; much depends on this retention of the nasal, as will be seen when we come to the modern Sindhi and Panjabi verbs.

Very great interest attaches to the participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in त्त्वं. In verbs which do not take intermediate इ, this ending is added directly to the root with the usual Sandhi changes; but as Prakrit prefers to insert the इ in order to preserve the root-form of the present, it comes to pass that the त्त्वं of the termination stands alone between two vowels, and in consonance with Prakrit phonetics is elided. The hiatus thus produced is in the Jaina writings filled by य. If to this we add the regular mutation of च्च into ज्ज, we get from त्त्वं the form यज्ज. In its original meaning this participle corresponds to the Latin in *ndus*, as *faciendus*, and expresses that which is to be done, as स्वया गन्तव्यं “by thee it is to be gone,” i.e. “thou must go.” In this sense it occurs frequently in Bhâgavati, as for instance in § 56 :

Jaina एवं देवानुप्पिया गंतव्यं, चिट्ठियज्जं, गिसीतियज्जं, भुजियज्जं, etc.

Skr. एवं देवानुप्पिया गन्तव्यं, खातव्यं, निषत्तव्यं, भोज्यव्यं, etc.

“Thus, O beloved of the gods, must ye go, must ye stand, must ye sit, must ye eat,” where the last two words postulate a Sanskrit form with the इ inserted, such as निषीतितव्यं, भुंजितव्यं.

It is obvious that it would require no great straining of the sense of this participle to make it into an infinitive, and seeing that as early as this Jaina dialect the use of the regular Sanskrit infinitive in तुं has become rare, it follows that recourse should be had to some participial form to supply its place. In this way we find the past passive participle in इत्त, with the त्त्त्वं elided and

its place supplied by च, employed in a construction where we should expect the infinitive. Thus Bhâg. § 54, इच्छामि पद्माविद्यं, मुंडाविद्यं, सेहाविद्यं, सिक्खाविद्यं (Weber, Bhâg. p. 274): "I wish to wander, to take the tonsure, to practise austerities, to learn," as though from Sanskrit forms प्रव्राजितं, मुण्डापितं, सेधापितं, शिखापितं, the three last being causals formed with *âp*, as is frequently the case with causals in Prakrit, though of course these forms are not found in Sanskrit. In that language the formation of causals by means of प् is restricted to a few stems.

More will be said on this subject in a subsequent chapter, but it is necessary here to note an early instance of this process which takes a much wider development in later times, the infinitive in Gujarati and Oriya and several participial constructions and verbal nouns being derived from it.

§ 7. The scenic Prakrits represent a further step in development. Despite the admittedly artificial character of these dialects, they probably retain forms which were at one time in general use, although that time may not have been the epoch when the dramas were written, and without referring to them, the structure of the modern verb could not be clearly understood. It is expedient to avoid discussing this question, lest attention should be drawn away from the real subject of this work, namely, the *modern* languages. All this part of the present chapter is merely introductory and is only inserted in order to pave the way for a more intelligent appreciation of the origin and growth of Hindi and its fellows.

In the Mâhârâshtri or principal poetical dialect all conjugations are reduced to the type of the first or Bhû class, and the same holds good for the Çauraseni or chief prose dialect. Only here and there do we find faint traces of the peculiarities of other conjugations. Of the six phases only three remain, active, passive, and causal. The passive differs from the active only in the form of the root, the characteristic च of the

The following are a few examples :

पेक्षस्व "look thou!"	Skr. प्रिचस्व.
यामस्व "bow thou!"	„ नमस्व.
वहध "bear ye."	„ वहत.
जाध "go ye."	„ यात.
अवेध "go away."	„ अपेत.
ओशसध "get out of the way!"	„ अपसरत.
कसेध "do."	„ कुषत.
अग्नेध "wake up."	„ जागटत. ¹

The future most usually exhibits the form of the Sanskrit present in इष्य = इस्स.

S. 1. रोचिस्सामि, 2. रोचिस्ससि, 3. °इस्सह.

रोचिस्सं

P. 1. °इस्सामो, 2. °इस्सध, 3. °इस्सति.

etc.

°इस्सह.

This form is used indifferently with roots of all classes as in Pali, but here also there still subsist some traces of a future formed without the intermediate इ. Vararuchi (vii. 16, 17) gives the following :—

Skr. √ श्रु "hear,"	fut.	श्रोष्यामि.	Pr. शोच्छं.
√ वच् "speak,"	„	वक्ष्यामि.	„ वोच्छं.
√ गम् "go,"	„	[गंत्स्यामि].	„ गच्छं.
√ रुद् "weep,"	„	Ved. रोत्स्यामि.	„ रोच्छं.
√ विद् "know,"	„	वेत्स्यामि.	„ वेच्छं.

These forms are, however, justly regarded as exceptions; for the rule in scenic, as in other, Prakrits is to retain throughout the root-form of the present. The regular type of the future is that in *issa-*, and the above words have also a future formed in the regular way, सुषिस्सह, वचिस्सह, गमिस्सह, etc. This स्स

¹ Some of these are Māgadhī Prakrit, but for my present purpose it is not necessary to draw a distinction between Māgadhī and Çauraseni.

is softened to ह, and the following vowel is weakened to इ, producing as characteristic the syllables *ihi*. Thus—

√ हस् "laugh," S. 1. हसिहिमि. 2. हसिहिसि, 3. हसिहिर, etc.

By a forgetfulness of the origin of such forms as सोच्छ, the ordinary future terminations may be added to them too, just like *dakkhissati* in Pali (§ 4), so that we find सोच्छिस्सति, and सोच्छिहिति.

The various tenses which in Sanskrit indicate past time have already in Pali and the earlier Prakrits been fused down into one. In scenic Prakrit a further step is taken, and the syllables *ia*, erroneously written *ta* in some MSS., are added to the root for all persons of the past tense (Var. vii. 23, 24. Lassen, Inst. Pr., 353). This is probably the neuter of the p.p.p. in Sanskrit, and its use is due to the frequency of the construction with the instrumental. Instead of saying "I saw, I went, I heard," the people said, "by me seen, gone, heard." This point is one of great importance in modern Hindi and Gujarati.

§ 8. While the Maharashtri and Çauraseni dialects are considered the principal ones in the dramas, there are yet others of great importance, such as the Mâgadhi, with its sub-dialects. Among these, however, it is necessary only to notice that called Apabhrançā. I do not wish here to touch upon the question whether the dialect called by this name in the dramas really represents the speech of any particular Indian province or not. I assume, for the sake of convenience, that Apabhrançā is really a vulgar speech further removed from the classical idiom than Maharashtri or Çauraseni. There may have been half a dozen Apabhranças, probably there were. In this section I am merely seeking to put together examples of verbal forms in a dialect one step nearer to modern times than the principal scenic Prakrits, and having done so, shall go on to my own special subject.

All that we can expect in the way of tenses after what has been said in the preceding sections, is a present, an imperative, and a future. The rest of the verbal work is done by participles.

√ प्रश् "ask," Present S. 1. पुच्छामि, 2. °च्छसि, 3. °च्छद्.
पुच्छमि, एद्.
°एमि °इमि.

P. 1. पुच्छाम, 2. पुच्छद्, 3. °च्छति.
°एद्.

√ कृ "do," Imperative S. 2. करहि, P. 1. करऊं, P. 2. करद्.
करे,
करि, करऊ.
कर, करद्.
कर,

In the future, although the form with the characteristic *issa* is found as सुमरिस्सद्दि = करिष्यति, Skr. √ क्षु, yet more commonly we find the form in which स्स has been softened to इ; thus

S. 1. करिहिमि, 2. करिहिसि, 3. करिहिर, etc.

The grammarians also give a

P. 1. in ऊं as कासाऊं = करिष्याम.

The participles resemble in most respects those in other Prakrit dialects, but that in तव्य becomes इव्य, as करइव्य and करिइव्य = करितव्य (कर्त्तव्य). The gerund ends in प्पि, प्पिसु, and a softened form वि; the ordinary Çauraseni form इष, which will be found in several modern languages, is here also used. To the gerund rather than to the infinitive, as the grammarians would have it, seems to belong the form in एवऊं, as सहिवऊं, the exact genesis of which is doubtful, though, as to the final ऊं, there is an analogy in the true infinitive सहयाऊं, which very closely approaches to Chand's forms, as करणवुं, करणवुं.

In addition to the above forms which are found in scenic Apabhraṅga, others and those more genuine fragments of popular speech are to be picked out from scraps that have

been preserved by bards. It is much to be wished that we had more of Hemachandra's works accessible, as in them we should doubtless find a rich mine of such words. Thus for all past tenses there is the participial form in इत् for all three persons, as

आशिर्त् = आशितं (आतं).

कहिर्त् = कहितं.

अप्यिर्त् = अप्यितं.

It has a plural in आया or या, as:

आया = आयताः

वारिया = वारिताः

उट्टिया = उट्टिताः

Sometimes also the *u* of the singular is rejected and *a* substituted, as भविष्यं = भवितं. There are other forms to be found in these poems which will be referred to hereafter when the modern forms which they illustrate are under discussion.

As a general result from the preceding brief sketches it may be asserted that Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrits taken collectively as the languages of the earlier stage have a common structure, though in different grades. Sanskrit, with its full range of synthetical tenses, yet admits here and there analytical constructions. Pali does the same, though its synthetical tenses are fewer and simpler. The Prakrits reduce the tenses still further, and make greater use of participial constructions. The treatment of the root-syllable also shows a gradually increasing tendency to simplification, for whereas in Sanskrit it is changed in form repeatedly in the various tenses, a practice begins in Pali and grows more common as we go down the stream, of using in all parts of the verb that form of the root which is found in the Sanskrit present.

From the review of these languages given above the passive and causal have been purposely omitted, because the parts which they play in the development of the modern verb are peculiar,

and will be better understood when seen side by side with the modern forms. The desiderative and intensive have left few or no traces of their existence, and may be passed over unnoticed.

§ 9. We may now approach the languages of the present day, and the discussion becomes more minute and particular. Though the verb of the new world has ways of its own, yet it stretches out hands across the gulf of centuries to the old world verb, and supports its claim to descent from it by still preserving traces unmistakable, though often faint and irregular, of the ancient forms and systems.

As in the noun, so also in the verb, the first thing to be considered is the stem. The modern verbal stem undergoes no changes, but remains absolutely the same throughout all moods, tenses and persons. To this rule there is a small though important exception, consisting of some participles of the preterite passive which are derived direct from the Prakrit forms, and are thus early Tadbhavas. The number of these early Tadbhava participles differs in the various languages. They are most numerous, as might be expected, in Sindhi, which has a hundred and forty of them in a total of about two thousand verbs. In Panjabi, Gujarati and Marathi the number is rather less, while in Hindi only five, and in Bengali and Oriya only two exist. They will be found, together with their derivations, in Chapter III. §§ 46, 47, 48.

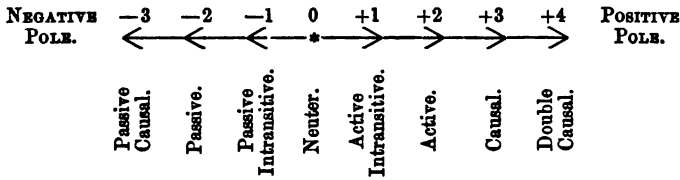
With this slight exception the verbal stem remains unaltered throughout. Thus, having got, by means hereafter to be explained, the word *sun* for "hear," Hindi simply tacks on to it the terminations; thus *sunná* to hear, *suntá* hearing, *suntá* heard, *sunún* I hear, *sune* he hears, *suno* hear ye! *sunegá* he will hear, *sunkar* having heard.

Primary stems are almost always monosyllabic, but secondary or derivative stems have often more syllables than one. The

latter may be brought under three heads. First, stems derived from Sanskrit roots with which a preposition has already been compounded, principally उत्, नि, प्र, and सं, as *utar* "descend," *nikal* "go out," *pasar* "spread," *sankoch* "distress." Second, stems formed by reduplication, as *jhanjhan* "tinkle," *tharthar* "flutter." Third, stems with an added syllable, as *gutak* "swallow," *ghast!* "drag," *karkach*, "bind."

It was seen above that in the old world verb there were six phases, and that two of these, the desiderative and intensive, have since been lost. The modern verb having to provide for active, neuter, passive, causal and other phases, has been obliged to have recourse to processes of its own, by which it arrives at the possession of a much wider range than Sanskrit can boast of, and does it too by far simpler means. Partly this result is obtained by ingenious adaptations of Prakrit forms, partly by modifications of, or additions to, its own stems, and partly by combining two stems together. It will first, therefore, be necessary to examine what phases the modern verb has, and then to proceed to examine the processes by which it has provided itself with the necessary forms for each phase.

§ 10. Those phases which are expressed by one word may be ranged as regards meaning in a regular scale of grades of action, according to the degree and kind of activity they express. In the following scheme we take the neuter as the point of quiescence, and trace degrees which start from it towards a positive pole indicating activity, and a negative pole indicating passivity.



The foregoing table looks, I fear, somewhat fanciful, but I know not how better to express a matter which is a striking and very important feature in the modern Aryan verb. It may be explained by considering each phase separately.

The neuter verb (0) expresses neither action nor passion. It conceives of the subject as in a condition of mere existence, as *being* something, not *doing*, and is therefore the simplest phase of verbal description. Pure neuter verbs are *ho* "be," *rah* "remain."

The next grade is the active intransitive (+1) which conceives of the subject as indeed acting, but acting in such a way that his action does not pass beyond himself to affect an external object, as *soch* "think," *chal* "walk," *phir* "revolve."

The active transitive comes next (+2). In this the subject is considered as acting in such a way that his action affects external objects, as *mâr* "beat," *khd* "eat," *pi* "drink."

The next grade is the causal (+3), in which the subject acts upon an external object in such a way as to cause it to act in its turn upon a second object, as H. *sunâ* "cause to hear," H. *phirâ* "cause to turn."

In some of the languages there is a yet further grade, the double causal (+4), in which the subject causes the first object to set in motion a second object, so that it affects a third object, as S. *pherâ* "cause to cause to turn," S. *ghârâ* "cause to cause to wound."

Returning now to the neuter or central point, and starting off again in the opposite direction towards the negative pole, we arrive at the passive intransitive (-1). In this phase the subject not only takes no action, but is himself under the influence of exterior agencies. It differs as much from the neuter on one hand as from the passive on the other, and is a sort of middle voice. It is called in Sanskrit grammar *Bhâva-* or *Sahya-bheda*, and is principally used in Gujarati, though ex-

isting in the other languages also, as G. *abhaḍā* "be polluted" (be in a state of pollution), H. *ban* "be built" (be in process of construction).

The passive (-2) is that phase which regards the subject as no longer an agent, but as being acted upon, as S. *dhōija* "be washed."

Lastly comes the passive causal (-3), where the subject causes an object to be acted upon by a second object, as M. *māravi* "cause to be struck."

It must not be supposed that all of these phases are found in every language. On the contrary, in none of the languages are there separate forms for each phase. It is only on reviewing the whole seven in a body that the full range of phases is seen. Generally speaking, the eight phases are represented by six sets of forms :

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1. Neuter, | including | 0, +1 and -1. |
| 2. Active, | „ | +2. |
| 3. Passive, | „ | -2. |
| 4. Causal, | „ | +3. |
| 5. Passive Causal, | „ | -3. |
| 6. Double Causal, | „ | +4. |

The double causal and passive have separate and distinct forms only in Sindhi. The passive, however, is found in some rustic dialects of Hindi. Generally the use of the passive construction is avoided by having recourse to the passive intransitive (-1) or the neuter (0), the former of which has a distinct form in Gujarati, Old Hindi, and Bengali, and in the construction of sentences in which it is used resembles the active, like *vapulo* in Latin.

Of the above phases the neuter and active are the simplest, the other forms being derived from them by the addition of syllables or internal modifications; the secret of the formation

of the modern verb is therefore to be sought for in the neuter and active.

§ 11. Some verbal stems are found only in the neuter form, others, again, only in the active, while a third and somewhat large class has both a neuter and an active form. For convenience, the first two classes may be called single stems, and the last double stems. Those double stems arise from the circumstance that two separate but, so to speak, twin verbs, have been made by the moderns out of one old Aryan root, each modern stem being derived from a different part of the old verb, as will be shown further on.

Among single stems, those which are neuter (including active intransitive and passive intransitive) supply the place of an active by employing the causal, thus H. **बनना** (passive intransitive) "to be made," takes as its corresponding active **बनाना** "to make," which is really a passive causal, meaning "to cause to be made." Those single stems which are active mostly require no neuter, but should it be necessary to express one, the passive intransitive is used, as **कहना** "to tell," **कहलाना** "to be called."

Moreover, in Sanskrit there is a class of verbs derived from nouns, and called denominatives, which express the being in the state described by the parent noun, and sometimes (though more rarely) the action of the subject. Verbs of this sort are common in all languages of the Aryan stock, and notably so in modern English, where a verb may be formed almost at will from any noun; thus we say "to eye," "to mouth," "to beard," "to house oneself," "to shoe a horse," etc. In Sanskrit these verbs take the form of the tenth conjugation, or perhaps it would be more correct to regard them as causals. Examples are Sanskrit *agadyati* "he is in good health," from *agada* "healthy"; *chapalāyate* "he trembles," from *chapala* "tremulous"; *paṇḍitāyate* "he is learned," or "he acts the

pedant," from *paṇḍita* "a (so-called) learned man";¹ *yoktrayati* "he yokes," from *yoktram* "a yoke." Probably from this cause it arises that there are in the moderns neuter verbs with a causal termination, as M. कडवाविधिं "to bang," "crack," H. चवराणा "to be amazed," चंचलाना "to totter." See § 28.

All these points will be noticed in detail in their proper place, they are cursorily mentioned here as an introduction to the general subject, and to show that there is an interchange and playing to and fro of forms and meanings which is somewhat difficult to unravel, and the more so as in colloquial usage the verbs are often very laxly and capriciously employed.

§ 12. Single neuter verbs are to a great extent early Tadbhavas as far as their stems are concerned, and consequently retain the Prakrit type. Thus they exhibit few or no traces of the tenfold classification of the Sanskrit or of the numerous phonetic changes that take place in the interior of the verb, but follow as a rule the form of the root in the present tense of the Bhû class. Here follows a list of some of the simplest and most used stems in the modern languages derived from verbs which in Sanskrit are Bhû. In the dictionaries the modern verbs are generally shown under the infinitive mood, but in the following lists I have thought it better to give only the stem; the reader can add the form of the infinitives if he wishes to refer to them in the dictionaries, as H. ना, P. या or वा, S. यु, G. वु, M. खे, O. दवा. In the Bengali dictionaries verbs are given under the stem alone.

Skr. √ भू "be," pres. भवति, Pa. भवति and होति, Pr. भोदि, होदि, होइ, H. हो and so in all, except S. ऊच, and in O. होइ is contracted

¹ A *pandit* in the present day in India is an individual who is supposed to be deeply read in all the most useless parts of Sanskrit literature, and is densely ignorant and contemptuous of all other branches of human knowledge.

to हे. This verb will be treated at full length further on as the chief auxiliary of these languages (see Chapter IV. § 66).

√ चल् “move,” चक्षति, Pa. *id.* Pr. चक्षर्, H. S. चक्ष, P. चक्ष, G. चाक्ष, चळ, M. चाक्ष, चक्ष, चळ, O. B. चाक्ष.

√ खग् “stick,” खगति, Pa. खगति and खग्द्यति, Pr. खग्ग्र्, where the रग् is probably caused by the passive खग्द्यते or the p.p.p. खग्, H. खग्, P. खग्, S. खग्, in the rest खग्ग्. It is neuter in the moderns.

√ कम्प् “tremble,” कम्पति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. कम्पर्, H. कम्प, कांप, P. कम्प, S. कम्प, G. M. B. कांप, O. कम्प.

√ भ्रम् “wander,” Pa. भ्रमति, Pr. भ्रमर् (Vik. iv. *passim*), H. भ्रम, भ्रीं, भंघ, P. भ्रम, भ्रीं or भउं, S. भ्रमं, भ्रम, भउ, भंघ, G. भ्रम, भ्रम, M. भोघ, भोघ.

There is little that is remarkable in the above list, the modern forms being regularly produced by the working of the usual phonetic laws. The verb *sthā* “stand,” being one of the common auxiliaries, demands a fuller notice. Here follow some of the principal tenses in the old languages :

SKR.	PA.	PR.
√ स्था and ष्ठा i. S. 3 } pres. तिष्ठति }	तिष्ठति ठाति	{ चिष्ठद् (Māg.), चिठ्ठद् (Çaur.), ठाष्ठर्, ठाष् (Var. viii. 25, 26).
P. 3. तिष्ठति	तिठ्ठति, ठाति	चिष्ठति, चिठ्ठति, ठाति.
Impv. S. 2. तिष्ठ	तिठ्ठ	चिष्ठ, चिठ्ठ, ठाहि.
S. 3. तिष्ठतु	तिठ्ठतु, ठातु	चिष्ठदु, चिठ्ठदु, ठाउ.
Future S. 3. स्थास्यति	ठस्यति	ठाहिर.
Infin. स्थातुं	ठातुं	चिठ्ठिदुं.
P.p.p. स्थितं	ठिठ्ठं	चिठ्ठिदं, ठिष्ठं, ठिष्ठं.
Gerund स्थित्वा	ठत्वा, ठत्वाण	ठिष्ठ, ठिष्ठ.

Of the three forms in Pali that having ठा as its root-syllable has survived to modern times, though in most cases with the dental instead of the cerebral aspirate. In H. there is only a

fragment in the shape of a past participle S. चा *m.* ची *f.*, P. चे *m.* ची *f.* S. G. and O. have a whole verb, thus—

	a.	g.	o.
Infinitive	चिञ्चयु "to be."	चवु (चाचवु)	चिवा (चारवा)
Aorist	S. 1. चिञ्चा	चाउ	चाएं
(=Skr. pres.)	2. चिएं, ची	चाच (चाय)	चाउ
	3. चिए	चाच (चाय)	चाए
	P. 1. चिञ्चं	चहए	चाउं
	2. चिञ्चो	चाचो	चाच
	3. चिञ्चनि	चाय	चाति
Present part.	चींदो	चतो	चाउं
Past part.	चिचो	चचो and चयेचो	चिवा
Future	S. 3. चींदो	चये	चिव
	P. 3. चींदा	चये	चिवे

The structure of these forms will be found discussed in Ch. IV. § 69. M. has an old poetical ठेबें "to be," but from the Pr. form चिट्ठ there is, as far as I know, only one descendant, and that is the modern Oriya adjective चिडा "standing," which seems to point to Pr. चिट्ठञ्च, Skr. चिञ्चत.

It is interesting here to notice the parallel treatment of Sanskrit चा and Latin *sta* in their respective descendants. Both roots survive, but have almost entirely lost the sense of "standing," and have come to mean "be," "become." In S. G. and O. the above quoted verbs are used as auxiliaries denoting a more special and definite kind of being or becoming, and are thus distinguished from the less definite auxiliaries derived from भू or चस्. Sindhi *huanu* and *thianu*, Gujarati *hovun* and *thavun*, Oriya *hoibá* and *thibá*, stand to each other exactly in the same relation as Spanish *ser* from *esse* does to *estar* (from *stare*). Thus *Pedro es enamorado* "Pedro is loving (by disposition)," but *Pedro está enamorado* "Pedro is in love (with some one)." So *el es bueno* "he is good (by nature)," but *el está bueno* "he is

well (in health).” In Italian, although *stare* still means “to stand,” yet it is constantly and regularly used in the sense of being, thus *sto leggendo* “I am reading,” does not imply that the speaker stands while he reads, but merely indicates that he is engaged in reading; just so an Oriya would say *parhu thâun. Stai bene ?* “art thou well ?” *sta qui vicino* “he is living close by,” would be correctly rendered in O. by the exactly parallel expressions *bhâla thâü ?* and *ethi nikat thâe*. In French, as in Hindi, the verb has been lost, and a Frenchman has to use the roundabout expression *il se tient debout* for “he is standing,” literally “he holds himself on end,” just in the same way as the Indian has to say *kharâ hai* literally “he is propped up,” (*खरा = Pr. खरु = Skr. खर* from $\sqrt{\text{खम्}}$ to support).

§ 13. Examples of verbs derived from roots which in Sanskrit belong to other conjugations than the first are now adduced to show how completely all traces of the peculiarities of those conjugations have been abandoned.

Skr. $\sqrt{\text{या}}$ “go,” ii. याति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. जादि and जाचदि (the latter as if from a Bhû verb याचति), H. जा, P. M. B. *id.*, G. and O. retain जा in some tenses, but in others shorten it to G. ज, O. जि.

$\sqrt{\text{स्वप्}}$ “sleep,” ii. स्वपिति, Pa. सुपति, Pr. सुवर, सुचर, सुवेर, H. सो, P. सौ, S. सुन्ह, G. सु, B. and O. सो.

$\sqrt{\text{भी}}$ “fear,” iii. बिभेति, Pa. भायति, Pr. भीचर, भाचदि, चीहर (Var. iii. 19), M. भि, भे, G. बीह, बीही, बिह (not in the rest).

$\sqrt{\text{नृत}}$ “dance,” iv. नृत्यति, Pa. नञति, Pr. यञर, H. नाच, P. नच, S. नच, G. M. O. B. नाच्.

$\sqrt{\text{शक्}}$ “be able,” v. शक्नोति and iv. शक्वति, Pa. सञ्जति, सञ्जोति, सञ्जयोति, Pr. सञ्जर, सञ्जयोति, and सञ्ज°, H. सक्, P. सक्, S. सच, G. M. शक्.

In *nâch*, as in several other verbs derived from Div roots, the characteristic च of the Div class seems to have got mixed up

with the root and has thus been preserved. Although in *sak* both Pali and Prakrit retain some traces of the peculiar type of the Su class, the moderns entirely reject them and form as if from a Bhû root, thus H. सक्ते "he can," postulates a Sanskrit शक्वति, and so with the other languages.

How the following verb came by its modern form I know not, but all the authorities agree in referring it to √ ब्रू. It is a very common word, and it is just these very common words that are the most difficult to trace. Perhaps ब्रू became बूर, and so बूस and बोज.¹

Skr. √ ब्रू "speak," ii. ब्रवीति and ब्रूते, Pr. बोज्जद् (Mṛich. 230, end of Act vi.) Old H. बुज्ज (o is short in Pr.), H. बोज, S. बोज, all the rest बोज.

§ 14. In the above examples the modern verb retains the form of the present tense, but there is a tolerably large class of stems which retain the type of the p.p.p. of Sanskrit as modified by the Prakrits.² These verbs express positions of the body, states or conditions whether material or mental, and the possession of qualities. The past participle of the Sanskrit has been treated as an adjective and a new verb formed from it, just as in English we have verbs "to contract," "to respect," "to edit," from the Latin *contractus*, *respectus*, *editus*, the respective past participles of *contrahere*, *respicere* and *edere*.

The modern Romance languages often preserve a long string of nouns derived from a Latin verbal root, while they have lost the verb itself; for instance, French, while it possesses no verb

¹ Since writing the above I see that Hemachandra gives *bolliāi* as one of the ten Prakritisms of *kath*; he means it evidently not as derived from *kath*, which is impossible, but as a popular equivalent (Pischel's Hem. iv. 2). In the same sūtra he gives also *sanghāi* for *kath*, in which we see the origin of M. *sānganen* "to speak." Hemachandra has also *bolliāi* = *kathayishyati* (iv. 360), *bollium* = *kathayitum*, *bolliem* = *kathayante* (?), ib. 383. But he gives *brua* as the equivalent of *brā* in iv. 391, so that the origin of *bol* still remains doubtful.

² This process was indicated by me in Vol. I. p. 179. Hoernle afterwards discussed it as if it was his own discovery in Indian Antiquary, vol. i. p. 367. Perhaps he had not then seen my first volume.

directly representing the Latin *sta* "stand," has numerous nouns from that root, as *station*, *étage*, from *statio*, *état* from *status*. From these nouns fresh verbs are derived, as *stationner* and the like. So also the modern Indian languages, while they have lost such roots as *dtp*, *kram*, as verbs, have nouns *dtpa*, *dtyâ* and derivatives, also *krama* as a noun with numerous secondary formations.

Analogous to this is the practice we are now discussing of forming verbs from Sanskrit participles, a practice which begins as early as Prakrit, and appears to have arisen from the habit mentioned in § 2 of forming a definite preterite by compounding the participle with **अस्**, as in **गतोऽस्मि** "I have gone." It was pointed out in § 7 that this practice had been extended in Prakrit so widely that it had resulted in giving a termination in **न्हि** to the present tense, as in **पेसिदन्हि**. Examples are:

Skr. √ **विश्** "enter," with **उप**, **उपविश्** "take a seat," i.e. to pass from a standing to a sitting posture, p.p.p. **उपविष्ट** "seated," Pa. **उपविट्ठो**, Pr. **उबविट्ठो**, and later **उवरट्ठो**, whence, by rejection of **उ**, H. **बैठ**, P. *id.*, M. **बैस**, where the last consonant is due to a confusion between **बैठ** and **वस**. G. has **बेश्**, which is from Skr. pres. **उपविशति**. Its p.p.p. is **बेठी**. S. also **विह** by softening of **स** to **ह**, p.p.p. **बेठी**. With **प्र**, **प्रविश्**, "enter," "penetrate," P. **पविट्ठो**, Pr. **परट्ठो**, whence H. **पैठ**, "to enter" (generally with the idea of penetrating forcibly). G. again **पेश्** from **प्रविशति**, p.p.p. **पेठी**, S. **पिह**, p.p.p. **पेठी**.

Skr. √ **पक्** "cook," **पचति**, p.p.p. **पक्क**, Pa. Pr. **पक्को**, H. **पक्** "to be cooked," to be in process of cooking (if you ask, "Is dinner ready?" your man answers, **पक्कता** "It is being cooked"), P. **पक्क**, G. **पाक्**, M. **पिक्**. It also means "to ripen," "to be in course of growing ripe," B. **पाक्**. There is also a stem from the present **पचति**, as S. **पच्** "to grow ripe," p.p.p. **पक्को**. H. and all the rest have **पच्**, but in the sense of rotting, decaying.

Skr. √ शुष् “dry,” p.p.p. शुष्क, Pa. Pr. सुक्खो, H. सूख “to be dry,” P. सुक्ख, S. G. M. सुक्क, B. O. शुक्क.

Skr. √ भङ् “break,” p.p.p. भङ्ग, Pa. Pr. भग्गो, H. भाङ् “to flee” (said originally of an army, “to be broken up and dispersed”), G. भाङ्ग, M. भाङ्ग, “to yield, give way,” also भङ्ग a, “to break,” O. भाङ्ग. Here again there are stems as if from the present form Bhû भञ्जति, Pa. भञ्जति, Pr. भञ्जद्, H. भञ्ज “to be broken,” and भञ्ज. (See § 19.)

Skr. √ जम् “go,” with उद्, p.p.p. उद्भूत “sprung up,” Pr. उद्भूतो, H. उद्भ, “to spring up” (as a plant), P. उद्भ, S. G. उद्भ, M. उद्भ.

It is questionable whether we should here class some words which come from √ भृ with उद्. The present would be उद्भरति, but though the p.p.p. in Sanskrit is उद्भूत, yet in such verbs Prakrit forms the p.p.p. on the model of the present tense, and has उद्भरिणो as if from Skr. उद्भरित, so that the modern verbs उद्भर, उद्भस, and the like keep the type of the present tense as much as that of the participle.

Another very common word is उद् “to rise,” but in this case Prakrit has already adopted this form for all parts of the verb, as has also Pali; thus from √ उद् + स्था Skr. makes उत्था “to stand up.”

	SKR.	PA.	PR.
Present	S. 3. उत्तिष्ठति	उद्दुहति, उद्दुाति	उद्दुदि, उद्दुदि, उद्दुद्दि
Impv.	S. 2. उत्तिष्ठ	उद्दुह	उद्दुदिहि
	S. 3. उत्तिष्ठतु	उद्दुतु	उद्दुत्त
Future	S. 3. उत्थास्यति	उद्दुहिस्यदि	उद्दुहिस्यद्दि
Pres. part.	उत्तिष्ठत्	उद्दुतो	उद्दुतो
P.p.p.	उत्थित	उद्दुतो	उद्दुदो, उद्दुधो
Infin.	उत्थातुं	उद्दुतुं	—
Gerund	उत्थाय	उद्दुथाय, उद्दुहिस्या	उद्दुध

Here, whatever be the form taken in Sanskrit, both Pali and Prakrit assume a stem उद्दु, and conjugate it as if it were a Bhû verb throughout. It seems as though उद् being com-

pounded with ष्ट had lost its final consonant, thereby making a form उष्ठा, whence Prakrit उट्ट. Sanskrit has adopted the opposite course, and while keeping उट्ट intact, has sacrificed the ष of ष्टा in the non-conjugational tenses, retaining it in the conjugational ones where it is prevented from coalescing with the preposition by the reduplicated syllable. In the moderns we have H. उट, P. उट्ट, S. उष and उठ, and in all the rest उट.

The stem रह् has undergone a change of meaning which is explainable only by bringing it under this head.

Skr. √ रह् "desert," रहति, usually found in Prakrit only in the p.p.p., रहिषो (= रहित) in the sense of "deserted," then almost adverbially, as "without," hence probably the meaning which it bears in the modern languages, "to stop," "stay," "remain," from the idea of being deserted, left behind. It is रह् in H. and all except M. राह, G. रेह. It is ancillary in most of the languages as पढते रहो "go on reading." (See § 72, 10).

§ 15. Single active stems exhibit the same method of formation as the single neuter stems given in § 12. A few examples are given of roots which in Sanskrit are of the Bhû, or the closely allied Div, Tud, and Chor classes.

Skr. √ खाद् "eat," खादति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. खार (Var. viii. 27, for खापर), H. खा, and so in all. Gipsy *khava*, Kash. *khyun*, Singhalese *kanavâ*.¹

Skr. √ चर्व् "chew," चर्वति, Pr. चञ्जर, H. चाव, P. चञ्ज, S. चव, G. M. चाव, O. चोवा, B. चाव.

Skr. √ पठ् "read," पठति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. पडर, H. पढ़ (parh), P. M. G. *id.*, S. पडह (which is only their way of writing पढ़), B. पड, O. पड.

Skr. √ प्रश् "ask," पृच्छति, Pa. पृच्छति, Pr. पृच्छर, H. पूछ, P. पृच्छ, G. B. *id.*, M. पुस् (see Vol. I. p. 218), O. पुछ, पचार.

Skr. √ मार्ग् (and मृग्) "seek," i. मार्गेति, x. मार्गेयति, Pa. मग्गति and मग्गेति, Pr. मग्गर, H. मांग, P. मंग, S. मङ्ग (*mang*), G. M. मान, B. मांग, O. माग.

¹ Childers, in J.R.A.S. vol. viii. p. 146.

Skr. √ रक् “keep,” रक्षति, Pa. रक्खति, Pr. रक्खर, H. रक् “keep,” also simply “to put,” पोकी को पीठे पर रखो “put the book on the stool,” P. रक्ख, S. रक्, G. M. B. राक्, O. रक्, Singh. *rakinvāḍ*.

Skr. √ क् “say,” कथयति, P. कथेति, Pr. कहर, कहेर, H. कह, P. S. B. O. *id.* In M. it is wanting. G. केह, Singh. *kiyanavāḍ*.

Those roots which belong to other conjugations are almost always reduced to the Bhû type, even if Prakrit retains any of the conjugational peculiarities the moderns do not. They take in most instances the root-form of the present as it occurs in Prakrit, and keep it throughout. Instances are :

Skr. √ ज्ञा “know,” ix. जानाति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. जाणाति, also जाणर (Pr. keeps जाण throughout, but it and Pa. occasionally drop the initial, having जाणादि, etc.), H. B. जान, the rest जाण. Gipsy *janava*, Kash. *zānun*, Singh. *dānavāḍ*.

Skr. √ क् “do,” viii. करोति, Pa. *id.* (see § 1 and § 4), Pr. कुरर and करर and the stem कर is adopted in most tenses. The moderns universally reject all forms but कर, which they use throughout except in the p.p.p., which is the phonetic equivalent of Prakrit (see § 48).

Skr. √ श्रु “hear,” v. श्रुणोति, Pa. सुणोति, सुणाति, Pr. सुणर, H. सुण, and in all सुण or सुण.

Skr. √ आप “get,” v. आप्नोति (but also i. आपति), Pa. आपुणोति, आपुणाति and आप्योति, Pr. (see § 5) आवर, seldom used alone. Old H. आप्य “to obtain,” also used in the sense of giving.

अप्य मन्ति सरसें सवत्त ।

“Having obtained wisdom and the aid of Saraseṇ (Saraswati).”

—Chand, Pr. R. i. xv.

Also G. आप “to give,” which is the ordinary word in that language, may be from this root or from अप् (अप्). Far more common is the compound with प्र = प्राप, Pa. as above. Pr. पाउणर and later पावर, Old H. and P. पाउ, H. पाव and पा, S. पा, O. *id.*, G. पाम, M. पाव, B. पाओ. In all in the sense of finding, getting, obtaining.

Skr. √ ग्रह "seize," ix. गृह्णाति. The treatment of this root is peculiar. Pa. for the most part takes a form ग्रह्ण, and Pr. generally गेग्रह. Some of the principal tenses are given here.

	SKR.	PA.	PR.
Pres.	S. 3. गृह्णाति	ग्रह्णाति, ग्रह्णति	गेग्रह
Âtm. Pres.	S. 1. गृह्णे	" "	गेग्रहे
1 Aor.	S. 3. अग्रहीत्	अग्रगहि, अग्रगहि	"
Impv.	S. 2. गृहाय	ग्रह, ग्रहहि	गेग्रह, गेग्रह
	S. 3. गृह्णातु	ग्रहद्	गेग्रहद्
Impv.Âtm. P.	2. गृह्णीध्वं	ग्रहद्भो	गेग्रहध
Fut.	S. 1. ग्रहीष्यामि	ग्रहिहस्सं	गेग्रिहस्सं
	S. 3. ग्रहीष्यति	ग्रहिहस्सति, गहेस्सति	गेग्रिहस्सर्
Infín.	ग्रहीतुं	ग्रहिहतुं	गेग्रिहद्, ग्रहिद्, चेषु
P.p.p.	गृहीत	ग्रहितो	ग्रहिदो, ग्रिहिदो
Gerund	गृहीत्वा	ग्रहिहत्वा	गेग्रिहत्वा, चेषुन

There are thus two types in Pa. *ganh* and *gah*, and three in Pr. *genh*, *gah*, and *ghe*. The double *t* in *ghettum* and *ghettuna* arises, I fancy, from *e* being short in Pr., and is not an organic part of the word (Var. viii. 15).

In the modern languages H. has ग्रह as an archaic and poetic word. P. also ग्रह. But M. चै "take," is very much used, as also S. गिग्रह, and O. चैन, the other languages prefer the stem चै from चम्. Singh. *gannavá*, perhaps Gipsy *gelava*, is connected with this root, though it means rather "to bring." (Paspatis, p. 241.)

§ 16. Some Sanskrit roots ending in vowels have undergone curious and interesting changes in the modern languages. Such is Skr. √ दा "give," iii. ददाति. This is one of the primitive Indo-European race-words, and being such we probably have not got it in its original form in Sanskrit. With the idea of giving is intimately connected that of dividing, or apportioning, and we find in Sanskrit several roots with this meaning, all of which seem to point back to some earlier

common root which has been lost. Thus we have √ दा, iii. ददाति "give," √ दा or दो, ii. दाति and iv. वति "divide," √ दाघ, i. दाघते and दे i. दघते. Some grammarians, misunderstanding a rule of Panini's about reduplication, have imagined a √ दद्, i. ददते, but this does not seem to be entitled to a separate existence.¹ It is also to be observed that in some roots in द there are traces of a form in e or ai, which may perhaps be the older form, as गा and गी "to sing," ध्या and धी "to meditate," म्वा and म्वी "to languish," व्वा and व्वी "to wither," वा and वी "to rescue," मा and मे "to measure." Also roots ending in द exhibit in the course of conjugation many forms in which the root-vowel is changed to i or e. It is not within our scope to do more than hint at all these points, as possibly accounting for the fact that at a very early stage the root दा began to be superseded by दे, and that in the modern languages the universal form is DE. The principal tenses in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are here shown together.

	SKR.	PA.	PR.
Pres.	S. 1. ददामि	ददामि, देमि, दम्मि दप्पामि	देमि
	S. 3. ददाति	ददाति, देति, दप्पति	देह, दर
	P. 1. दद्यः	दम्म, देम	देमो
	P. 3. ददति	देति	देति
Impv.	S. 2. देहि	देहि	देहि
	S. 3. ददातु	देतु	देउ
Átm.	P. 2. दद्ये	देच, ददाच	देच
Fut.	S. 3. दास्यति	दस्यति	दइस्सर, दाहर
Infin.	दातुं	दातुं	दाउं, देउं
Pres. Part.	दद्यत्	दद्यो, देनो	देतो (देती f.)
P.p.p.	दद्य	दित्तो	दिथो
Gerund	दद्या	दत्या, दाघ, ददित्वा	दाऊण, दद्या, दरघ

¹ Westergaard, Rad. Sanskr. p. 6, note.

Childers thinks the form *deti* has arisen either from Sanskrit *dayate*, or from confusion with the imperative *detu*. The form *dajjati* he, with great probability, considers as a future on the analogy of *dekh* (see § 4). In Çauraseni Prakrit the form *दे* is used throughout (Var. xii. 4), as also in the moderns. H. *दे*, P. M. G. *id.*, S. *दिच्च*, B. alone has *दा*, O. *दे*, shortened in some tenses to *दि*. Gipsy *dava*, Kash. *dyun*, Singh. *denava*. This is one of the few irregular verbs in the modern languages; being subjected to numerous contractions, and retaining several early Tadbhava forms.

Further examples are :

Skr. √ पा "drink," i. पिवति [Vedic पाति, there is also √ पी, iv. पोयते], Pa. पिवति and पिब°, Pr. पिअद्, H. पी, S. and B. पि, in all the rest पी. Gipsy *pidva*, Kash. *chyun*, perhaps through an old form *pyun*, Singh. *bonava*, p.p.p. *bi*.

Skr. √ नी "lead," i. नयति, Pa. नयति, जेति, Pr. नेद्, येद् (pres. part. ण्यंतो = Skr. नयन्, fut. ण्यस्सं = Skr. नेष्यामि, Impv. येह = Skr. नय). Used in the moderns only in composition, thus—

(a) With आ = आनी "bring," Pa. आनेति, Pr. आयेद्, H. आन "bring," in all the rest आण. Kashm. *anusn*, Gipsy *andva*.

(b) With परि = परिनी "lead round the sacrificial fire during the marriage ceremony," hence, "to marry," Old-H. परख, परना, P. परनाऊ, S. पर्या, G. M. परण.

Skr. √ उी "fly," with उद् = उडुी "fly up," i. उडुयते, iv. उडुीयते, Pr. उडुद्, H. उड (ur) "to fly," and so in all. S. has उडिर, probably a diminutive. Kashm. *wudun*, Gipsy *uryava*.

The root या "to go," was mentioned above; with the preposition आ forming आया, it means "to come," and it is from this word that the following are apparently derived :

Skr. आया "come," ii. आयाति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. आआद्, आद्, H. आ "to come," P. *id.*, G. आव, M. ये, Gipsy *avava*, Kash. *yun*. The B.

आइस, O. आस, S. आच seem to come from आनच्छति, but both in B. and O. one often hears आ, thus O. *dsild* or *dsild*, "he came," and S. makes the imperv. *dsu*, so that there is some confusion between the two roots.

In the roots ending in long *i* the modern languages have words descended from compound verbs only, and in them the final vowel of the root has dropped out altogether, while in roots ending in long *a* there is a tendency to soften the final vowel into *i* or *e*.

§ 17. A few words must be given to a verb which has been somewhat hotly discussed of late. In all the modern languages except perhaps M., the idea of seeing is expressed by *dekh*. Kashmiri has *deshun*, Gipsy *dikáva*, and Singhalese *dikanava*. The root is in Sanskrit √ दृश्, but the present is not in use; instead of it classical Sanskrit uses पश्यति, from which M. derives its verb पाह्. Marathi stands alone in using this stem, instead of *dekh*. From √ दृश् comes future द्रक्षति, and it is from this future that Childers derives the Pali दक्खति. He shows¹ that in the earlier Pali writings it is always used in a future sense, and only in later times becomes a present. As I hinted above (§ 4, p. 16), it is very probable that the vulgar, missing in this word the characteristic *issa* of their ordinary future, considered it a present, and made a double future *dakkhissati*. A similar process has been shown to have taken place in several verbs in Prakrit. Pischel draws attention to a fact pointed out in Vol. I. p. 162 of this work, that there is much similarity between *dekh* and the Prakrit *pekkh* from Sanskrit प्रेक्ष्. He, however, goes so far as to assume that the word *dekh* was unknown to the authors of the dramas, that they used *pekkh*, which has been changed to *dekhh* by the copy-

¹ In Kuhn's Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. vii. p. 460. Pischel's article is in the same work.

ists who heard this latter word used round them every day, while they did not know of *pekh*. Unfortunately for this ingenious theory, it happens that the word *pekh* is extremely common in Hindi, Bangali, and Panjabi literature of the middle ages, and is still used in many rustic dialects of Hindi. The idea of a northern Indian scribe not knowing *pekh* is quite untenable. Weber (Prakrit Studien, p. 69) has a long article on this subject, controverting the views of Childers as supported by Pischel. The learned professor would derive *dekkh* from the desiderative of दृश्, which is दिदृक्षते, but I am unable to follow the arguments adduced, or to see how a word meaning "to wish to see" should come to mean "to see." Nor do there appear to be any actual facts in support of this theory, such as texts in which the word occurs in a transitional state of meaning or form. The few desideratives that have left any traces in modern times retain the desiderative meaning, as *piyāsā* "thirsty," from *pipāsu* (see Vol. II. p. 81). However, I must say to the learned disputants—

"Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites."

For my own part the impression I derive from the controversy is that *dekh* is derived through *dekkh* from *dakkh*, which is Sanskrit future दृक्षति turned into a present by a vulgar error. The idea suggested by me (in Vol. I. p. 161 *et seqq.*) must be modified accordingly. It was not so entirely erroneous as Pischel thinks, for Sanskrit ऋ represents an older ॠ, which seems to be preserved in the future.

§ 18. The examples adduced in the preceding sections will have sufficiently illustrated the most salient peculiarities in the formation of the ordinary single verbs whether neuter or active, and I now pass on to the more difficult subject of the double verbs. As I mentioned before, there is a very large class of these; they appear in two forms, one of which is active and

occasionally even causal, the other is neuter or passive intransitive. It is after much consideration that I have come to the conclusion that this is the right way to regard them. It might be said that the forms which are here spoken of as neuters are really passives, and a rule might be laid down that these languages often form their passive by what the Germans call *umlaut* or substitution of weaker vowels. Childers in fact takes this view as regards Singhalese in the article already quoted (J. R. A. S. vol. viii. p. 148). I do not know how the matter may stand in Singhalese, but it is certainly open to much objection as regards the Aryan languages of the Indian continent. The neuters differ from the actives in two ways in the seven languages, either by a change in the final consonant of the stem or by a change in the vowel only. The latter is by far the more frequent. We must not be misled by the accident that many of these neuters can only be translated into English by a passive; that is the peculiarity of our own language, not of the Indian ones. In German or in the Romance languages they can be rendered by the reflexive verb. Thus H. खुलना is "to open," *i.e.* "to open of itself," "to come undone," "to be opened," while खोलना, the corresponding active, is "to open," *i.e.* "to break a thing open," "to undo." Thus द्वार खुलता "the door opens," is in German "die Thür öffnet sich," in French "la porte s'ouvre." While द्वार खोलता "he opens the door," is in German "er öffnet die Thür," in French "il ouvre la porte." So that फिरना is "sich umkehren," while its active फेरना is "umkehren (etwas)." In English we use verbs in a neuter as well as in an active sense, relying upon the context to make our meaning clear.

Moreover, all the languages have a passive, in some a regularly formed derivative from Prakrit, in others a periphrastic arrangement. It is true that, owing to the large number of neuter stems, this regular passive is not very much used; but it is there nevertheless, and would not have been invented had

forms which I regard as neuters been true "umlautend" passives.

Of the double verbs, then, as I prefer to call them, some differ only in the vowel, and the difference consists in this that where the vowel of the neuter is always short, as *a*, *i* or *u*, the corresponding active has *ā*, *e* or *o*, occasionally *ī* or *ū*. As types may be taken, H. *katnā*, *n*, and *kātnā*, *a*; *phirnā*, *n*, and *phernā*, *a*; *khulnā*, *n*, and *kholnā*, *a*; *lipnā*, *n*, and *līpnā*, *a*; *guthnā*, *n*, and *gūthnā*, *a*. Of the other class, in which the final consonant differs, there are so many varieties, that it will be better to discuss them separately. Sindhi has the largest number of them, and it is with Sindhi therefore that we must begin.

§ 19. Trumpp (Sindhi Gr. p. 252) gives a list of these verbal stems, but it would have been out of place for him to have offered any analysis. The following verbs I take from him, but the explanations are my own. The first group consists of these verbs.

(1.) Neuter ending in ष्.	Active ending in ष्व.
1. बद्धयु "to be bound,"	बंधयु "to bind."
2. बुद्धयु "to be heard,"	बुंधयु "to hear."
3. रद्धयु "to be cooked,"	रंधयु "to cook."

1. Skr. √ बंध्, ix. बध्नाति, Pa. बंधति, Pr. बंधर्, whence S. बंध, H. बांध, P. बद्ध. In all the rest बांध *a*. Skr. passive is बध्यते, whence Pa. बध्यति, Pr. बध्यर्, S. बद्ध, H. बद्ध, used as a hunting term "to be caught," also "to stick, adhere," P. बद्ध्. Here, though undoubtedly derived from the passive, the stem बद्ध is really a neuter or passive intransitive and its conjugation closely resembles the active. There is a regular passive S. बंधिययु.

2. Skr. √ बुध् "to know," i. बोधते, iv. बुध्यते, from the latter come Pa. बुध्यति and Pr. बुध्यर्, whence S. बुद्ध, originally "to know," but now meaning "to be heard," H. बुझना "to understand," is active. So also

O. वृक्ष, B. वृक्ष, G. वृक्ष. But M. वृक्ष is both *a* and *ṣ*. The form of the iv. conjugation is identical with the passive, hence S. makes वृक्ष a neuter and वृक्ष is probably due to a false analogy with वंघ.

3. Skr. √ रक्ष् or रक्ष् i. रक्षति originally "to destroy," but in moderns always "to cook," Pa. *id.*, Pr. रक्षद्, S. रक्ष, H. रक्षि *a*, and so in all but P. Passive रक्षते, Pa. रक्षति, Pr. रक्षद्, S. रक्ष, not found in the others.

(2.) Neuter in भ.

Active in ह्.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. लभयु "to be got," | लहयु "to seize." |
| 2. यभयु "stuprari" (de muliere), | यहयु "stuprare" (de viro). |
| 3. जुभयु "to be milked," | जुहयु "to milk." |

1. Skr. √ लभ् "to get," i. लभते, Pa. लभति, Pr. लहद् (भ=ह Vol. I. p. 268), S. लह, Old H. लह, H. ले, P. लहि and ले, G. ले, M. जे, O. जे, B. लघो, all *a*. Pass. लभते, Pa. लभति, Pr. लभद्, S. लभ, Old H. लब्भ, not in the others.

2. Skr. √ यभ् "coïre," i. यभति, Pr. यहद्, S. यह, Pass. यभते, Pr. यब्भद्, S. यभे. Not in the others, except perhaps M. यवयौ, where the aspiration has been thrown back on the ज्.

3. Skr. √ दुह्, ii. दोग्धि, Pa. दोहति, Pr. दोहद् and दुहद्, S. दुह, H. दुह and दोह, and so in all *a*. Pass. दुहते, Pa. दुहति (Childers writes *duyhati*, which can hardly be expressed in Devanagari letters), Pr. दुहद्. From this we should expect S. दुसे. The form दुसे recalls a similar one in Jaina Pr. सिब्भद् for सिब्भद् (Weber, Bhâg. 389, 429), Skr. सिष्यते, but this seems to rest upon a doubtful reading of one of those obscure composite characters sometimes found in MSS. written with the thick Indian reed pen. See also Cowell's Var. viii. 59, note.¹ Possibly we have here again a false analogy with लभ, like वृक्ष with वंघ.

¹ Hemachandra collects a number of passives in ढ् from roots ending in ढ्, dubbhāi, libbhāi, vabbhāi, rubbhāi, from duh, lih, vah, ruh (or ruddh?).—Fischel, Hem., iv. 246.

(3.) Neuter in द्वा.

द्वेषणु "to be envious,"

Skr. √ दह् "burn," i. दहति, Pa. उहति, Pr. दहर, S. उह, H. उाह, दाह, Pass. दह्यते, Pa. उह्यति (Childers *dayhati*), Pr. दह्य, S. दह.

Active in ह्.

दहणु "to torment."

(4.) Neuter in ज्.

1. भङ्णु "to be broken,"

2. भुज्णु "to be fried,"

3. ह्रिज्णु "to be plucked,"

4. सुज्णु "to be heard,"

5. खज्णु "to be raised,"

Active in ज, ञ, ञ.

भजणु "to break."

भुजणु "to fry."

ह्रिजणु "to pluck."

सुजणु "to hear."

खजणु "to raise."

1. Skr. √ भञ् "break," vii. भनक्ति, Pa. भञ्जति, Pr. भञ्जर; ञ becomes in S. ज, hence भज, Pass. भज्यते, Pr. भज्जर, S. भज (ञ = ज), H. भञ and भज,

पुरुषात्मन भवे किति हान ॥

"Manliness is broken, fame destroyed."—Chand, Pr. R. i. 172.

P. मज्ज, G. भाञ.

2. Skr. √ भज् or भुज्, i. भर्जते, vi. भुज्यति, Pa. भज्यति. Pr. would probably be भुजर. I have not met the word, भुजर (Bhâg. 278) is from भुञ् "to enjoy," S. भुज postulates a Pr. भुञ. In the other languages the ञ occurs. H. भुज "to fry," and भुन, P. भुन, G. भुज, M. भाञ, but also भुञ, O. भाञ, B. *id.*, Pass. भुज्यते, which would give Pr. भुज्जर, whence S. भुज, but the whole stem is somewhat obscure. P. भुज्ज ञ.

3. Skr. √ ह्रिद् "cleave," vii. ह्रिनक्ति, Pa. ह्रिन्दति, Pr. ह्रिन्दर (Var. viii. 38), whence S. ह्रिज by the process रण = रण्णा (Vol. I. p. 299), Pass. ह्रिज्यते, Pa. ह्रिज्यति, Pr. ह्रिज्जर, S. ह्रिज.

4. Skr. √ श्रु "hear," which, as already explained, is always सुज in Prakrit and in modern languages. Pass. श्रुयते, Pa. सुयति or सुज्यति, Pr. generally सुनिज्जर (Var. viii. 57), also सुजर, but a form सुज्जर is also possible, whence S. सुज.

5. Skr. √ खँद् “rise,” i. खँदति, which would give a Pr. खखद्, whence S. खख, Pass. खखते, Pr. खखद्, S. खख. This stem does not seem to occur in the other languages, it is peculiar to S., and must not be confounded with खखद् “to dig,” from Skr. √ खन्, nor with Skr. खखद् “to divide.”

(5.) Neuter in स.

Active in ह्.

1. कुसख् “to be slain,”

कुहख् “to slay.”

2. मसख् “to be rubbed.”

महख् “to rub.”

3. बूसख् “to be scorched.”

बूहख् “to scorch.”

4. मुसख् “to suffer loss.”

मुहख् “to inflict loss.”

1. Skr. √ कृष् and कृष् “tear” “drag,” i. कृषति, Pr. कृसद्, S. कृह, (स = ह्, Vol. I. p. 259), Pass. कृषते, Pr. would be कृस्सद्, whence S. कृस, by rejection of one *s*. Persian کُشتن “to kill.”

2. Skr. √ घृष् “rub,” i. घर्षति, Pr. घसद्, S. मह, Pass. घृषते, Pr. घिस्सद् and घस्सद्, S. मस. The other languages have a different series of stems. H. घस and घिस, * and a, घसीट, a, P. *id.*, G. घस and घसद्, a, M. घास, घसट, घांस * and a, O. B. घस.

3. Skr. √ बूर्ष् “burn,” i. बूर्षति, Pr. बूसद्, S. बूह, Pass. बूर्षते, Pr. बूस्सद्, S. बूस.

4. Skr. √ मुष् “rob,” i. मुषति, Pa. मुसति, Pr. मुसद्, S. मुह, Pass. मुषते, Pr. मुस्सद्, S. मुस.

There are several other pairs of stems which exhibit special types; all, however, are explainable by the above noted process. Thus—

(6.) Neuter in प्.

Active in ह्.

कुपख् “to be touched,”

कुहख् “to touch.”

Skr. √ कुप् “touch,” i. कुपति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. कुपद्. प being unsupported goes out and ह् is employed to fill up the hiatus, giving S. कुह. Pass. कुषते, Pr. कुप्पद्, whence S. कुप, by rejection of one प्. In the other languages only the active is found. Old-H. कुह, H. कू, P. कुह and कूह, G. कु, कू, क्री, O. कु, B. *id.*

§ 20. There is a group of words running through nearly all the seven languages in which the divergence between the two members of each pair is slighter than that just discussed. It consists in the final consonant of the neuter being the surd cerebral ट, while that of the active is the sonant ढ; the neuter at the same time has the simple short vowel while the active has the corresponding guna vowel.

The words are in Hindi.

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.
1. कुट "get loose,"	होड "set free."
2. टुट (तुट) "fall in pieces,"	टोड (तोड) "break."
3. फट "burst, split,"	फाड "tear."
4. फिट "be discharged,"	फेड "discharged."
5. फुट "be squashed,"	फोड "squash."
6. जुट "be joined,"	जोड "join."

The process in these words differs somewhat from that in the Sindhi stems in the last section, as will be seen from the following remarks.

1. Skr. √ कुट (also चुट, चुट Westergaard, Rad. Skr. p. 128) "to cut," vi. कुटति, but the Bhû type would be ह्योटति, Pr. होडर, H. होड, and so in all except M., which has सोड, with its usual change of ह् to स (Vol. I. p. 218). H., which is pronounced *chhor*, while M. is *sod*, is active, and so is the word in all the other languages. It means "to release, let go, loose." Pass. कुटयते, Pr. कुडर, whence H. कुट, and so in all, but M. सुट. It is neuter and means "to get free, be unloosed, slip out of one's grasp, come untied."

The modern languages appear to have mixed up with this verb one that comes from a totally different root, namely—

Skr. √ कृड "vomit," vii. कृषति, also i. हर्दति and x. हर्दयति, Pa. हडुति, Pr. हडुर and हडर, Old H. हंड, P. हडु, B. हाड, O. *id.*, H. हाड, M. सांड. These words all mean "to reject, abandon," and thus

come round to the same meaning as छीड़, with which in consequence B. confuses it. So does Oriya. Even so early as Pali the meaning has passed over from that of vomiting to rejecting, releasing and the like. In modern H., however, छाड़ना retains the meaning of vomiting, and M. खाँड़ means "to spill," with secondary senses of "giving up," "letting go."

2. Skr. √ ब्रू "break" (५), i. ब्रूति, iv. ब्रूयति, Pr. तुडर्, H. तूट and टूट, with abnormally long *u*, P. दुडु, S. दुट, B. *id.*, M. तुट. It is neuter in all and means "to be broken, to break itself." Being neuter in Sanskrit, a new process has to be brought into play, namely, *causal* चोटयति, H. तोड़, and so in all but S. टोड़. It is active, meaning "to break in pieces, tear, smash."

3. Skr. √ स्फट् has three forms, each of which has left modern descendants, and there is a different shade of meaning to each of the three groups.

(a) √ स्फट् "split," i. स्फटति, Pa. फरति and फसति (ट = उ = ञ), Pr. फसर् and फटर्, H. फट (rustic फाट), P. S. फट and फाट, the rest only फाट, neuter.

Causal स्फाटयति, Pr. फाडिर्, H. फाड and so in all. This group with stem-vowel A indicates the splitting, cleaving, or rending asunder of rigid objects. Thus we say in H. काठ धूप में फटे "the wood splits, or cracks, in the sun," but काठ को टांगी से फाड़े "he cleaves the wood with an axe."

(b) √ स्फिद् "hurt," x. स्फिडयति, but also vi. स्फिडति, Pr. फिटर्, H. फिट, and so in all but P. फिडु, neuter.

Causal स्फोटयति, Pr. फिटर् and फेडर्, H. फेट, फेंट and फेड, and so in all but B. active. This group, with stem vowel I, implies, gently loosing or breaking up into small pieces. It is used for beating up into froth, winding thread, untying; also metaphorically getting out of debt, discharging an obligation, and in P. injuring.

(c) √ स्फुट् "burst open," i. स्फोटति, vi. स्फुटति, Pa. फुटति,

Pr. फुड् or फुडर् (Var. viii. 53), H. फुट and फूट, all the rest फुट, except P. फुड, neuter.

Causal खोदयति, Pr. फोडेर, H. फोड, and so on in all but B. फोड. Words with the stem vowel U imply the breaking or bursting of soft squashy things, as a ripe fruit, a flower bud, a boil and the like. Only in M. is there some idea of splitting or cracking, but there also the more general idea is that of squashing, as डोले फुडले "the eyeballs burst."

6. Skr. √ जुट or जुड, a somewhat doubtful root, looking like a secondary formation from जुञ्. It must have had a definite existence in the spoken language as its descendants show. They appear to have treated it as a neuter pres. जुडति, जुडति. Pa. and Pr. do not appear to know this root, which, however, is very common in the moderns. H. जुट "to be joined," also जुड, and so in all.

Causal जोडयति, H. जोड, and so in all except P. जुडु and जुड, meaning "to join two things together."

These instances suffice to exhibit the nature of the parallel that exists between twin verbs of this class, which is a somewhat limited one.

§ 21. More usual is the difference which consists simply in the change of vowel of which I will now give some examples :

1. Skr. √ तृ "cross over," i. तरति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. तरह, in all तर* "to be crossed over," metaphorically "to be saved."

Causal तारयति "to take one across, save," Pa. तारेति, Pr. तारेह and तीरेह (Var. viii. 70). In all तार "to save." The word is one which belongs chiefly to religious poetry, but its compound form with चद् is a word of every-day use; viz.

2. Skr. √ उत् "descend," H. उत्तर, and in all except S. It is ञ, and is used with a very wide range of meanings all akin to

that of coming down; as alight, descend, fall off, drop down, disembark, abate, decrease.

Causal उतारयति "take down," H. उतार, and so in all except G. and O. Active, meaning "pull down; take off, unload, discharge, cast out."

3. Skr. √ मृ "die," vi. म्रियते, Pa. मरति, Pr. मरद्, H. मर, and so in all.

Causal मारयति, Pa. मारापेति, Pr. मारेद्, H. मार in all, but not necessarily meaning "to kill." It rather means "to beat"; the sense of killing is generally expressed by adding to मार the ancillary डाल "throw" (see § 72, 12).

4. Skr. √ सृ "move," i. सरति, Pr. सरद्. In H. सर neuter, means "to be completed," and in all it has the general sense of being settled, getting done. In O. to come to an end, be done with, as से कर्म सरि गत्वा "that affair is done with."

Causal सारयति, Pr. सारेद्, H. सार "to finish," and in all. In O. this verb becomes ancillary (see § 72).

5. Skr. √ हृ "seize," i. हरति, Pa. id., Pr. हरद्. This verb is peculiar. H. हरा, "to seize," so also in G. P. B. In these languages it has the sense of winning a game, a battle, or a lawsuit. In M. हर means first to carry off, then to win. In this sense it is active, as स्वार्थे पहिल्या डावास शंभर रुपये मांडले ते ज्या हरले "In the first game he staked 100 rupees, that I won." When used as a neuter, it means to lose, as मी वाद हरलो "I lost the lawsuit."¹

Causal हारयति, Pa. हारापेति and हारेति, Pr. हारेद्, H. हार, and so in all but M. अ. In these languages it means to lose at play, etc. M. is here also somewhat difficult, and Molesworth admits that हार and हर are sometimes confused. Thus it is active in the sense of

¹ See Molesworth's Marathi Dict. s. v. हर and हार.

winning, as **म्यां त्वाचे शंभर रुपये हारले** "I won from him 100 rupees."

The use of the causal in the sense of losing goes back to Sanskrit times, where the meaning is "to cause to seize," and then "to permit (another) to seize," hence "to lose." So also in Prakrit, in Mr. 90, the Samvāhaka says: **भाषधेयविश्रमदाए दशसुवर्णसं जूदे हासिदं** (Skr. **भागधेयविश्रमतया दशसुवर्णसं जूते हारितं** sc. मया) "By the untowardness of fortune I lost ten suvarnas at play." From this and similar instances it would appear that in M. it would be etymologically more correct to use **हर** in the sense of winning, and **हार** in that of losing; which usage would be more in unison with that of the cognate languages. In Kash. *hārun* is stated to mean both lose and win, but there must be some way of distinguishing the two meanings.

Some more examples may now be given of pairs of words derived from Sanskrit roots ending in a consonant.

1. Skr. √ स्फर् and स्फृ "tremble," i. स्फरति, Pa. फरति, Pr. फुरर. If I am right in my derivation, there must either have been a third root स्फिर् (as in स्फट्, स्फिद्, स्फुट्), or the moderns have softened *a* to *i*, the former is the more probable. H. फिर * "to turn (oneself)," "to spin round," "revolve," and so in all except G. It is perhaps on the analogy of similar roots, and not directly from a causal of स्फिर्, that all the moderns have फिर *a* "to turn (a thing) round," "to make it revolve."

2. Skr. √ घूर् "to move to and fro" (३). Allied to this is घुष, i. घोषते, apparently unknown in Pali, Pr. घोषद्, H. घुष, P. M. घुळ, B. घुष, meaning to be dissolved by stirring in water, as sugar or similar substances, "to melt."

Causal घोषयति, Pr. घोषेद्, H. घोष, P. घोष and घोळ, G. M. O.

घोळ, B. घोषा "to dissolve substances in water."

3. Skr. √ पत् "fall," i. पतति, Pa. id., Pr. पडद् (Var. viii. 51), H. पड "to fall," and so in all.

Causal पातयति, Pa. पातेति, Pr. पाउरि, H. पाउ "to fell," and so in S. G. M. B., but somewhat rare in all.

4. Skr. √ श्द "decay," i. and vi. श्रीयते, Pr. सउर (Var. viii. 51), H. सउ, and in all "to rot."

Causal शादयति, Pr. साउरि, P. and S. साउ "to destroy by decomposition." This root is perhaps connected with Sanskrit √ श्द "to be sick," whence उ in Prakrit and the moderns.

5. Skr. √ जम् "bow," i. जमते. It is both *a* and *s* in Sanskrit, but strictly would be active intransitive, as in the moderns. Pa. जमति, Pr. जमर, H. जम and जेव, P. जेउ (neü), S. जंब, B. जू, O. जुर्, जोर (ð) "to bow oneself down," "to prostrate oneself."

Causal नामयति, Pa. नामेति, Pr. यामेरि, H. नाव, ना, P. निवा, S. नवा, B. नाम, नुया, O. जुआर "to bow or bend," used as an active with the words "body" or "head" as objects, H. सीस नावना "to incline the head." द्वार आर पद् नायेउ माषा। "Coming to the door, bowed his head to (the Guru's) feet."—T. R. Ay-k. 63.

In very common use is the diminutive H. निऊर, P. S. *id.*, but in S., meaning "to bury," "press down." M. uses the compound form from Skr. अवनमति, Pr. ओयर (p.p.p. ओयपो = अवनत, Hāla, 9, Mr. p. 165), M. ओयव and ओयाव *n* "to stoop." Perhaps S. ओना "to listen," *a*, is to be referred to this, from the idea of bending the head to listen.

The following word is full of difficulties, and I am not able to elucidate it clearly.

Skr. √ छष् "drag," i. कर्षति and vi. छषति, Pa. कडुति, Pr. करिसर, so, at least, says Var. viii. 11, but in Mr. 253 occurs कडुमि = कर्षामि. The Skr. p.p.p is छष्, which would give Pa. and Pr. कडु. Perhaps this is another instance of a verb derived from p.p.p.¹ H. काड *a*, "to drag

¹ Hemachandra gives six popular equivalents of कृश—kaḍḍhai, sāḍḍhai, anchai, apachchhai, ayanchai, and āinchai, as well as karisai.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 187. With regard to the four last, see the remarks on *khainā* in § 22.

out," "extract," "to take something out" (from a box, etc.), P. कडु and खडु, S. कड, G. B. काड, M. O. काड. H. has a corresponding neuter कड "to be taken out," "to flow forth," "issue," which is perhaps from the p.p.p. Var. viii. 40, gives Pr. वेडुर् = Skr. वेष्टति, which affords an analogy for a Pr. कडुर् like the Pali, very much used in the compound with निस्; thus—

Skr. निष्कृष, i. निष्कर्षति, Pa. रिक्कडुति "to turn out of doors, expel;" as to Pr. in Mr. 354 occurs विक्कस "begone!" and in the line above विक्कासेहि "turn him out." For the change of डु to ह, Var. viii. 41 उव्वेखर = उव्वेष्टति affords an analogy, as the change in both words occurs only in composition. Several of the moderns have pairs of words, thus: H. निक्कस ण, "go out," P. निक्कळ, S. निक्किर, G. निक्कळ, O. निक्कळ, and H. निक्कास ण, "turn out," P. निक्काळ, S. निक्कार, निक्केर. In the above quoted passages of Mr., the scholiast renders विक्कासेहि by निक्काशय, erroneously for निक्कासय, from निस् and कस्, but this is not the etymological equivalent, for √ कस् with निस् has left a separate set of descendants, whose meaning is, however, almost the same as *nikal* and its group. Thus we find H. निक्कस ण, "go out," P. निक्कस, G. *id.*, and H. निक्कास ण, "to turn out," often used in a milder sense, "to bring out," the substantive निक्कास is frequently used to mean the issue or completion of a business, also as a place of exit, as पानी का निक्कास नहीं "there is no exit for the water," P. निक्कास.

§ 22. As exhibiting the phonetic modifications of the root syllable, as well as the treatment of roots in respect to their phase, whether active or neuter, the list which is here inserted will be useful. In the next section will be found some remarks on the deductions to be made from these examples.

Skr. √ तप् "heat," i. तपति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. तवर्. In Sanskrit it is both ञ and ण, so also in Pali. In the latter the passive तप्यति (Skr. तप्यते) means to be distressed, to suffer, and in this sense Pr. uses तवर्, as in

jaks diŕŕho tavai khalo, "as the bad man is distressed when seen" (Hála, 229). Causal तापयति "to cause to burn," Pa. तापेति "to distress," Pr. तावद्. The moderns take it as a neuter. H. तप् ऋ, "to be heated, to glow," and so in all but B. ताप. H. ताव "to beat," P. ताउ, ता, G. ताव, M. *id.*, B. तावा.

Skr. √ क्षिप् "smear," vi. क्षिप्यति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. क्षिपद्, क्षिबद्, H. क्षीप, क्षेप, P. क्षिप्य, क्षिम्ब, क्षिम्म, S. क्षिब, क्षिम, G. क्षिपं, M. क्षेप, B. क्षेप, O. क्षिप. Pass. क्षिप्यते, Pa. क्षिप्यति, Pr. क्षिप्यद्, H. क्षिप "to be smeared with," M. क्षिप, G. क्षेप, which is the reverse of the others.

Skr. √ कृत् "cut," vi. कृत्वति, also i. कर्त्तते, Pa. not given. If the Bhû type be taken, as it generally is, then Pr. should have कटुर् (on the analogy of कटुर् = कर्त्तते). I have not met with it. The Bhû type being Âtmanepada would result in a modern neuter, thus we get H. कट "to be cut," P. कटु, S. कट, M. *id.*, B. कट "to wither," become flaccid, O. कट. The causal is कर्त्तयति, whence G. pass. intrans. (—1) कटा, but if formed on the usual type would give a Pr. काटेर्, whence H. काट "to cut," S. M. B. O. *id.*

Skr. √ बन्ध् "tie," i. बन्धति, ix. बन्धाति, Pa. बन्धति, बन्धेति, Pr. बन्धद्. Hence H. G. गाँठ a, "to knot," P. बँठ, बडु, S. बँठ, M. गाँठ, गाँध, both a and ऋ, G. गाँठ a, B. गाँत, गाँध, O. बढ. Passive बन्धते used in a reflexive sense, whence H. बँठ "to be knotted," or बढ without anuswara, P. बढ, G. बढा (—1). H. has also forms बँध ऋ, and गाँध a, the former from Pr. बँध, Mr. 157.

The p.p.p. बन्धित appears in Pr. as गुत्वो, perhaps as if from a Skr. गुधित. Hence we have a pair of verbs, H. गुञ् "to be threaded (as beads on a string)," P. गुत्य "to be tightly platted (as hair), to be strong, well-knit (as limbs)," M. गुंत and गुञ् "to become tangled, to be difficult or involved (an affair)," G. गुथा, and H. गुञ् "to thread," G. गुञ्.

Skr. √ टुञ् "totter," i. टुञ्ति (perhaps connected with √ चञ्च titubare, see Vol. I. p. 210). I have not found it in Pr.; it is ऋ in Skr. and thus

H. टस n, "to give way, yield, totter," P. G. M. टळ, S. टिस, टर, B. टस "to slip, stagger," O. टळ *id.* Causal टासयति, H. टास a, "to drive away," टेस "to push," P. टाळ, G. M. *id.*, S. टार, B. टास "to delay, put off, evade," O. टाळ *id.*

Skr. √ तुस, तुस "raise," "weigh," i. तोसति, x. तुसयति and तोसय°, Pa. तुसेति, Pr. तुसद्, H. तोस, तीस a, "to weigh," P. तोस, S. तोर, G. *id.*, M. तुळ, both a and n, B. तोसा and तुस, O. तीस. Pass. तुसते, would be Pr. तुसद्, H. तुस n, "to be weighed, to weigh," i.e. to be of a certain weight, P. *id.*, S. तुर, B. O. तुस.

Skr. √ सस्य "prop," v. सस्येति, ix. सस्यति. Pa., the verb is not given in Childers, it would be संसति, Pr. संसद्, H. संस, also spelt साम and साव a, "to prop, support," P. सस्य or संस्य, S. संस, G. संस, B. सामा, O. साम. Pass. सस्यते; there is also an Âtmane conjugation सस्यते. From this latter probably H. संस, सस, संस n, "to be supported, to be restrained," hence "to stop, cease," P. संस, S. सस, G. संस, M. सस, साम, साव. It also means "to stand," especially in G.

The p.p.p. is सस्य, Pr. सस्यु, whence Old-H. ठाढा "standing," as गोपी जन बोधिके द्वे चितवति सब ठाढी ॥ "All the Gopis on the terrace standing and looking."—S. S. Bâl Mla, 47, 14. On the analogy of this the modern colloquial H. खडा is probably to be derived from a Pr. खडु, from खड्ध, √ खस्य. P. has खडा *adj.* "standing," whence a verb खड "to stand."

Skr. √ वृत् with नि, निवृत्, i. निवृत्ते "to come to an end, be finished," Pr. निवृत्तद्, means "to return," *na niattai jovaṇam aikantam = न निवृत्ते यौवनं चितकान्तं* "Youth when once passed does not return again" (Hâla, 251), but we may postulate a form निवृत्तुद्, whence H. निवृत् n, "to be finished, to be done with, used up," P. *id.*, S. निवृत् or निविर, B. निवृत्, O. *id.* On the analogy of similar words H. निवाड, निवेड a, "to finish," P. *id.*, S. निवेर, B. O. निवाड, it might also come from निपतति = Pr. निवृत्तद्, but the meaning is less appropriate.

Skr. √ घट् with वि, विघट, i. विघटते "be destroyed," Pa. विघटति, Pr. विघट्ट्. With loss of aspiration, H. विगट् ङ, "to become useless, to be spoilt;" P. *id.*, S. विजिड, G. बगड, M. retains the aspirate विघट, B. O. विगड. Causal विघटयति, but Pa. विघाटेति, with characteristic long vowel of causal, Pr. I have not found; it would be विघाडेर्, H. विगाड् ङ, "to spoil," P. S. G. *id.*, M. विघाड.

There are, as might be expected, many verbs, and those often the very commonest, in the modern languages, which cannot be traced back to any Prakrit stem with any degree of certainty. Others, too, though they preserve traces of a Prakrit origin, cannot be connected with any root in use in Sanskrit. These are probably relics of that ancient Aryan folk-speech which has lived on side by side with the sacred language of the Brahmins, without being preserved in it. Sometimes one comes across such a root in the Dhâtupâṭha, but not in literature; and occasionally the cognate Aryan languages of Europe have preserved the word, though it is strangely missing in Sanskrit. An instance in point is the following:

H. लाड् ङ, "to load," P. लह्, more from analogy than anything else, S. लड. In all the rest लाड्.

H. लड् ङ, "to be loaded;" not in the others. Bopp (Comp. Gloss. s. v.) suggests a derivation from √ अम्, p.p.p. आम् "tired," or √ लाम्, p.p.p. लाम् "tired." This would seem to be confirmed by Russian *klad'* "a load," *klazha* "lading," *na-kladevat'* "to load;" Old-High-German *hladið*, Anglo-Saxon *hladan* "to load," *hlad* "a load," Mod. High-German *laden*. The wide phonetic changes observable between various members of the great Indo-European family so seldom occur between Sanskrit and its daughters, that I am disposed to think that neither Skr. आम् nor लाम् could well have given rise to a Hindi *lād*. It seems more probable that this is a primitive Aryan root which has, for some reason unknown to us, been left on one side by classical Sanskrit.

Of doubtful, or only partially traceable, origin, are the following :

H. खोद and खोद *a*, "to dig," P. *id.*, S. खोट, खोद, G. खोद, M. खोद, खुद, B. खुद. And H. खुद, खुद "to be dug." With this pair I propose to connect H. खोस *a*, "to open," P. खोस, खुस, S. G. M. खोस, B. O. खुस, and H. खुस *n*, "to come open," P. खुस, S. खुस, G. M. *id.* Pr. has a verb खुद, and this root is also given in the Dhâtupâṭha as existing in Sanskrit, though not apparently found in actual use. The Sanskrit form is probably √ खण् "to divide," with which another root खन् "to dig," has been confused, unless, indeed, the noun खण्ड, "a portion," is formed from √ खन्, and is the origin of √ खण्ड. The Prakrit occurs in Mr. 346, कूबन्नि खुडिदपाशं कञ्चयकञ्चयं च खुड्ढं "Like a golden pot with its string broken, sinking in a well," where the scholiast renders कूपे खण्डितपाशं, etc. Also in Mr. 219, चपुरददिगचरे गोवाचचदारचो खुडिदो, "While the sun was only half risen the cowherd's son escaped," i.e. broke out. It is probable that the two senses of digging and opening in the two modern pairs of verbs arose from a primitive idea of breaking or dividing.

H. बुद or बुद *n*, "to dive, be immersed, sink," S. बुद, G. बुद, M. B. O. *id.*, and H. बोद *a*, "to drown, to immerse," S. *id.*, बोद occurs in M. and S., not as active of बुद, but for मोद (मुद) "to shave." Apparently, an inverted form of this stem is the more commonly used H. बुब *n*, "to sink," used in all; it has no corresponding active form. The origin of these words is to be found in Pr. बुडु (Var. viii. 68), which appears to be the same as *vuḍḍa* in *daravuḍḍavuḍḍanivuḍḍa mahucaro*, "(With) the bee a little dipped, (quite) dipped, undipped" (said of the bee clinging to a kadam branch carried away by a stream).—Hâla, 37.¹ The Sanskrit lexicographers give a √ बुड "to cover," but no instances of its use. The reversed form *ḍubb* is also in use in Prakrit, as in the quotation

¹ *Buddai* = *masjati*.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 101.

from Mr. 346, given under खीर above, where the speaker is a Chandāla or man of the lowest caste, who may be held to speak a low form of Apabhraṅga. It is perhaps another of those Aryan roots which Sanskrit has rejected. The classical language uses instead *marj*, Latin *mergere*.

H. भेट, भेट *a*, "to meet" (to join any one), भेद *a*, "to close, shut," P. भेद, S. भेट and भीद, G. भेट, M. भिद, both *a* and *ṣ*, B. भेट, भेद, O. भेट; and H. भिद "to stand close to, to be crowded," P. *id.*, S. G. *id.*, M. भेट, B. भिद "to approach near to," O. भिद "to be tight." The general idea is that of closeness or a crowded state. There is also a substantive भीद "a crowd." From the meaning I was led to suppose (Vol. I. p. 176) a derivation from a Sanskrit p.p.p. चम्बर्ष "near," which, however, has been disputed. The question must for the present be left undecided.

H. भेट "to efface," P. S. *id.*, and more common H. भिट *ṣ*, "to be effaced, to fail, wear out" (as a writing or engraving), and so in all. Of this stem, all that can be said is, that it is probably connected with मृष्ट "rubbed," p.p.p. of √ मृष्, though one would expect a Pr. भिट् or मृष्ट्, and H. भीट. There are two other stems ending in ट, which present nearly the same difficulty, viz. :

H. पिट "to be beaten," ऐसा करीने, तो पिटोने "If you act thus, you will get a beating," P. पिट्, M. पिट, both *a* and *ṣ*, B. and O. पिट *a*, and H. पीट *a*, "to beat," not in the others. In Prakrit there is पिट् "to beat," पिट्टिच एदं चेदं बिकखावेहि "Having beaten this slave, turn him out" (Mr. 354, again in the mouth of a Chandāla), and पिट्टिदमहहेष विच पुषोषि खोट्टिद्वं "I must roll about again like a *beaten* jackass" (Mr. 107). Here, unless this is a non-Sanskritic old Aryan root, we can only refer to पिष्ट "ground, broken," p.p.p. of √ पिष् "to grind," but this is hardly satisfactory, as this root has a descendant, H. पीस "to grind," and पिस *ṣ*, "to be ground."

H. खेट *ṣ*, "to lie," "to be in a recumbent posture," and खिद *ṣ*, "to

wallow," P. खेट, खिट, S. खेट, G. M. *id.* Probably connected with खोट; but there does not appear to be any Prakrit root to which it can be traced. The nearest Sanskrit root is √ खी "to lie down;" लोट्त्वा = svapiti.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 146.

There is next to be noted a small group of stems ending in च्, concerning which also there has been some controversy.

Skr. √ क्री "buy," ix. क्रीयाति and क्रीयीते, Pa. किय्याति, Pr. किय्यद्, H. क्रीन, S. गिम्ह (is not the ह here due to some confusion with Pr. वेयह = ग्रह "take"?), B. O. क्किय. This is a single verb, the complications occur in the following compound with वि, विक्री "sell," ix. विक्रीयाति, Pa. विक्रियाति, Pr. विक्रिय्यद्, S. विक्रिय् a, "to sell," O. विक्र, Gipsy *biknāva*. But in H. विक्र is न्, "to be sold, to be exposed for sale," as चावन्न आज सदा विक्रता "rice is selling cheap to-day." In M. विक्र is both a and न्, as विक्रेण तसें पिक्रेण "when it is ripe it will sell." So also P. S. विक्र न्, "to be sold." For the active H. has वेच sometimes pronounced वेच "to sell," as आज चावन्न वेचता "he is selling rice to-day." P. वेच, G. वेच, B. वेच. When we remember that all verbs are prone to take the forms of the Bhû type, it is intelligible that विक्र should mean both "to sell" a, and "to be sold" न्, for the Parasmai of the Bhû form would be विक्रयति, and the Âtmane विक्रयते, and the final syllable being rejected as in √ नी and √ डी mentioned above, the stem resulting in both cases would be विक्र. S. and Gipsy have retained the ण of the Pr. विक्रिय्यद्. But whence comes the च in वेच?

H. खेंच, commonly pronounced खेंच "to pull, drag," is a similar word. P. खिच्च and खिञ्ज, G. M. खेंच, B. खेष and खेंच, O. *id.* Also H. खिच न्, "to be dragged," B. खिच, खिच "to be dragged or distorted (the face), to grin, make faces, writhe," M. खिच. From the meaning we are led to think of Sanskrit √ कृष "to drag," and although this root has been shown to have given rise to another pair of verbs *kaṛh* and *kāṛh*, and in composition to *si-kal* and *si-kāl*, yet it is not impossible that, used

in a different sense, it may have originated another set of words like *khench* and its congeners.¹

H. पड़च "to arrive" *a*, written in various ways as पड़च, पड़च, पड़ह, P. पड़च, S. पड़च, G. पोइच, पोच, M. *id.*, B. पड़च or पड़च, O. पड़च. In the dialects are some curious forms, as Marwari पुन and पुन, which also occurs in Chand, and in Nepali. Chand uses also a form पड़, as दिन दोय मंस नीके पड़त ॥ "In two days one easily arrives (there)." Pr. R. I. 175. In Old-Gujarati also there is a verb पड़ोत, e.g. तळ वहे नारदने चे वखास भाव न पड़ोतो "Says Nala to Nārada, this story does not arrive at mind" (*i.e.* is not probable).—*Premānand Bhat*, in K. D. ii. 74. S. पड़चसु has p.p.p. पड़तो, which latter looks as if it were from प्र + सुप्, but this will not account for the च. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. I. 358) derives this word from the old Hindi adverb पड़ "near," and कर "make," assuming a change of क into च; but though this change occurs in the ancient languages, there are only very few and doubtful traces of its existence in mediæval or modern times, and I do not think we can safely base any argument upon so rare a process. Hoernle goes so far as to consider H. पुकार "to call," as the causal of पुन, which he says was (or must have been) anciently पुक. There is another possible derivation from Skr. प्राचूर्ण "a guest," which becomes in H. पाऊना, but this fails to explain the final च.

Some light may perhaps be thrown on the subject by some stems in the moderns ending in च, for as च arises from द + च, so च arises from त + च (Vol. I. p. 326). Thus :

H. भेज *a*, "send," P. *id.* Here we have Skr. √ भिद् "cleave," "separate." Causal भेदयति, which would make a passive भेद्यते "he is made to separate," *i.e.* "he is sent away." If we take the active causal as the origin of this word, we must admit an elision of the vowel between *d*

¹ See note to क्राह in § 20. The cognate verb *ainchā* is also in use in the moderns.

and *y*; or, taking the simple passive भिष्यते, we may assume that there was a neuter भिष “to be sent,” from which the active भेष “to send,” has been formed; *bhij*, however, is not found.

H. वज्ज *z*, “to sound,” P. *id.*, S. वज्ज and वज्ज, G. वज्ज, M. वाज्ज, B. *id.* Also H. वाज्ज *a*, “to play (music),” and *z*, “to sound.” Probably from Skr. √ वह् “speak,” causal वादयति, Pa. वदति and वदेति, the passive of the causal is Skr. वाचते, Pa. वचति “to be beaten,” *i.e.* “to be caused to speak,” as *vajjanti bheriyo* “drums are beaten.” Hence the modern *baj*. The short form *baj* is apparently due to analogy.

§ 23. It is the business of the lexicographer, rather than of the grammarian, to work out the derivations of all the verbs in these languages, and even he would probably find the task one of insuperable difficulty in the present elementary state of our knowledge. It is hoped that the examples and illustrations given above will have enabled the reader to gain some insight into the general principles which have governed the modern languages in the process of forming their verbal stems. To conclude this part of the subject, I will now point out what seem to me to be the laws deducible from the examples above given, and from many others which, to avoid prolixity, I have not cited.

Single neuter stems are derived (i) from the Prakrit present tense of Sanskrit neuter verbs, or (ii) from the Prakrit passive past participle, or (iii) Prakrit has assumed one form for all parts of the verb, which form has been handed down to the modern languages almost, if not entirely, unchanged. Types of these three processes respectively are *ho*, *baith*, and *uth*.

Single active stems are formed from the Prakrit present of active verbs, and in cases where the verb in Sanskrit is not conjugated on the Bhû type, Prakrit usually, and the moderns always, adopt the Bhû type. Here, also, Prakrit has occasionally taken one form of root and used it throughout, and

the moderns have followed the Prakrit. Types of these classes are *parh*, *kar*, and *ghen*.

In the double verbs two leading processes are observable. Where the root is conjugated actively, or is active in meaning in the ancient languages, the modern active is derived from it, and in that case the modern neuter is derived from the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit passive, as in *labhanu*, *lahanu*, or as *chhor*, *chhut*. Where the ancient root is neuter, the modern neuter is derived from it, and in this case the active is derived from the ancient causal, as in *tut*, *tor*, or *mar*, *mār*.

These rules, if further research should eventually confirm them, do not provide for every modern verbal stem, as there are many whose origin is obscure and doubtful. It is highly probable that as we come to know more about these languages, we shall find out other processes which will throw light upon the method of formation of many now obscure stems.

It should here also be noted that even where the same stem occurs in the same, or nearly the same, *form* in all the languages, it is not used in the same *phase* in all. Marathi and Sindhi have different sets of terminations for neuter and active, so that the fact of the neuter and active stem being the same creates no difficulty, the distinction of meaning being shown by the terminations. Thus in M. बाढ, if treated as a neuter, would be conjugated thus: Present *gānthato*, Past *gānthalā* Future *gānthel*, etc.; but if as an active, thus: Present *gānthito*, Past *gānthilen*, Future *gānthil*. In this language, therefore, we often find a verb used either as active or neuter; while in Hindi, which has one set of terminations for all stems, the difference between active and neuter can only be marked by the stem. In several rustic dialects of Hindi, however, and in the mediæval poets, we often find the neuter verb with a long vowel, but confusion is avoided by giving to the active verb the terminations of the causal, thus बढना "to grow big," "increase," makes its active बढाना "to make big," and rustic and

poetical Hindi often uses बाढना for the neuter, as ऐसी देव प्रकट मोदर्शन । जाके पूजे बाढे मोधन ॥ “Such a god is manifest in Govardhana, from the worship of whom wealth of cattle *increases*.”—S.S. *Govardhanlîlâ*, ii. 15, *et passim*. So also बाढत वैहन मृगासक सूत ॥ “It *grows* like the threads of the lotus.”—Padm. This subject will be more fully discussed under the causal.

§ 24. Gujarati, as will have been noticed in the examples given in the last section, often wants the neuter stem with the short vowel, but has in its place a form in which *d* is added to the stem, the included vowel of which is short. This form is not incorrectly treated by some grammarians as the ordinary passive of the language. It should, however, in strictness, be recognized as the passive intransitive (that form marked —1 in the scale, § 10).¹ The rules for its formation are simple, in stems, whether neuter or active, having *d* as the included vowel, it is shortened to *a*, as—

वाच “read,”	वचा “be read.”
चाक “mark, test.”	चका “be tested.”
सामठ “hear,”	सभठा “be heard.”

The shortening does not always take place when the included vowel is *i* or *u*, though from the way in which short and long vowels are used indiscriminately in Gujarati, it is not safe to lay down a hard and fast rule on this point, thus—

शीख “learn,”	शीखा (शिखा) “be learnt.”
शीव “sew,”	शीवा (शिवा) “be sewn.”

Where the stem ends in a vowel, *v* is inserted to prevent hiatus, as—

म्हा “wash,”	म्हवा “be washed.”
खा “eat,”	खवा “be eaten.”
बिही “fear,”	बिहीवा “be feared.”

¹ Vans Taylor, *Gujarati Grammar*, p. 81, from which most of the following remarks are borrowed, though I diverge from him in some points in which his views seem to be open to correction.

With regard to the meaning and method of using this phase, it appears that its construction resembles that of the neuter, while it implies either simple passiveness, habit, or power. As a simple passive, रामणी रावण मरायो "Râvana was killed by Râma," आ खेतर् मा बी वषायु "In this field seed has been sown;" as expressing habit, एवु कहेवाय हे खर् "thus it is correctly said," i.e. "this is the correct way of expressing it;" आ होकरो मूर्ख जयायहे "this boy is (usually) thought to be stupid;" as expressing power or fitness, तेनाणी चलाय नहीं "he cannot walk," literally "by him it is not walked;" राजा बी अन्याय कराय नहि "a king cannot (or must not) do injustice;" कुवो चमडायो माटे एवु पाणी पीवाय नहि "the well has become impure, therefore its water is not drunk." Some of the words which take this form are, to all intents and purposes, simple neuters in meaning, like *abhadaḍāyo* in the sentence just quoted, which means "to be ceremonially impure," and points back to a Sanskrit denominative, as though from अ "not," and मद् "good," there had been formed a verb अमद्भायते "it is not good." So also वपरावु "to be used," "to be in use," as एक चर्च ना वे प्रत्यय वपराय हे "two affixes are in use with one meaning," postulates from व्यापार, a denominative व्यापारायते, or perhaps the causal of वि + आ + पृ = व्यापारयति. This seems to be the real origin of this phase, though some would derive it from a form of the Prakrit passive. At any rate, the two stems just quoted (and there are several others of the same kind) look more like denominatives than anything else, though in others this form inclines more to the passive signification, as भीमक सुता नु वदन सुधाकर देखीने शोभाय । चन्द्रमा तो चीय पाणी आममा संताय ॥ "Having seen the moon-like face of the daughter of Bhimaka in its beauty—The moon wasted away, having hidden itself in the clouds."—Premānand in K.-D. ii. 74. Here शोभा is "to be beautiful," and looks like a denominative, but संताय has more of a passive or reflexive meaning, "to be hidden," "to hide oneself." Again, हमयंती नु उदर देखी

सुखायुं सरोवर “Seeing the belly of Damayanti, the lake dried up,” (*ib.* ii. 75), literally “was dried up.” So also घर लाग्युं त्वारे कुवो खोदावे ए अपि केम खोलवाय । “When the house has caught (fire), he has a well dug, how can this fire be put out?” —K.-D. i. 184.¹ The verb खोलवा is also written होख°, and is probably the same as O. खोहा “to descend, alight,” M. खोहठ “to trickle, flow down,” which I take to be from खप + सु = खपसरति, Pr. खोशखर (Māgadhi), and with change of स to ह = खोहख. It is used in the sense of removing oneself, thus: खसे के खोशख “ho there! get out of the way!” (Mr. 210), and causal खोशाखिदा मए शखडा “I have got the cart out of the way,” (*ib.* 211) = Skr. खपसारिता. This phrase is conjugated throughout all the tenses, thus खोवायुं “to be lost.” Present खोवाए “he is lost,” Future खोवाये “he will be lost,” Preterite खोवाखी, खोवाखी, or खोवाएखी हे “he has been lost,” and in active verbs it is used in the Bhava-prayoga, as a sort of potential, as तेनाखी खोडाय “he can loose,” तेनाखी खोडाखी “he could loose,” तेनाखी खोडाये “he will be able to loose.”

As to the other languages, a similar form is found in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, used as a simple passive, as पकड “seize,” पकडा “be seized,” as हम पकडाहत बा “I am being seized.” In this dialect, however, there are signs, as will be shown further on, of a passive similar to that in use in classical Hindi. In the old Maithil dialect of Bidyapati, which is transitional between eastern Hindi and Bengali, this form is found; thus, सिक्ता जल वेहे चखहि शुकायख “As water poured out on the ground is dried up.”—Pad. 984. धरखी खोटायख गोकुलखीद । “(He who is) the moon of Gokul rolled himself on the earth.”—P.K.S. 77. जगु इंदीवर पवने पेखिख खलि भरे खलटाय । “As a lotus pressed down by the wind is tilted by the weight of bees” (var. lect. भुरि = by a swarm).—Pad. 1352.

¹ This is equivalent in meaning to our English saying, “When the steed is stolen, shut the stable door.”

There seems to be some difficulty in deducing this form from a Prakrit passive. One of the methods in which the passive in Prakrit is formed is by resolving the *y* of Sanskrit into *ta* or *ia*, Skr. खावते = Pr. खारिचदि; and it is supposed that this ई has become चय, and subsequently चा, but no instances of intermediate forms are found; it would seem, therefore, more correct to suppose that this form originates from the causal of Sanskrit in those instances where the causal characteristics are used to form denominatives, and has from them been extended to other verbs. Neither explanation, however, is quite satisfactory, and the question is one which must be left for further research.

§ 25. The regular Passive (phase -2) is found only in Sindhi, Panjabi, and in some rustic dialects of Hindi. It arises from the Prakrit passive in *ijja* (Var. viii. 58, 59). Thus Skr. *crāyate* = *sunijjāi*, *gamyate* = *gamijjāi*, *hasyate* = *hasijjāi*. In Sindhi the passive is formed by adding र्ज or ज to the neuter or active stem.¹ Thus—

पूरयु "to bury,"	Passive पूर्यु "to be buried."
घटयु "to lessen,"	„ घटियु "to be lessened."

A passive is also made from causal stems, as—

विचारयु "to lose," Passive विचार्यु "to be lost."

Here, also, we find denominatives which have no corresponding active form, and have scarcely a passive sense, as उखण्डियु "to long for," where the causal termination used in Sanskrit for denominatives appears to have been confused with the *ijja* of the passive. Thus Skr. उक्खण्ड "longing," makes a verb उक्खण्डयति "to long for," whence the Sindhi *ukhandijānu*. So also अंगुष्ठियु "to be entangled," which seems to be from Skr. अङ्गुष्ठ, or अङ्गुरि "a finger," whence we may suppose a verb

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 258.

अङ्गुरयति "to be intertwined (like the fingers of clasped hands);" उमिर्वसु "to be angry," from उमस् "anger," Skr. उमर "uproar," of which the denominative would be उमरयति.

In cases where the vowel of the active stem is long in the imperative, but shortened in the infinitive, the passive retains the long vowel. Thus

पीठ "drink thou," पिबस्यु "to drink," पीबस्यु "to be drunk."

पूठ "thread thou," पुष्यु "to thread," पूरस्यु "to be threaded."

धोठ "wash thou," धुष्यु "to wash," धोरस्यु "to be washed."

A similarly formed passive is used in the Marwâri dialect of Hindi, spoken west of the Aravalli hills towards Jodhpur, and thus not very far from Sindh. Instances are—

करयो "to do,"

करीजयो "to be done."

खावयो "to eat,"

खवीजयो "to be eaten."

लेयो "to take,"

लिरीजयो "to be taken."

देयो "to give,"

दिरीजयो "to be given."

आवयो "to come,"

अवीजयो "to be come."

Thus they say मैं सुं आवीजे नहीं = H. मुझ से आया नहीं जाता "by me it is not come," *i.e.* "I am not coming." तू सुं खवीजेको नहीं = H. तुम से नहीं खाया जायगा "by you it will not be eaten," *i.e.* "you will not (be able to) eat it." This passive construction is frequent in the Indian languages, but usually with the negative expressing that the speaker is unable or unwilling to do a thing.¹ The insertion of र instead of व in ले and दे is peculiar and unaccountable.

Panjabi also has a synthetical passive, though rarely used. It is formed by adding ऐ to the root, and is probably derived from that form of the Prakrit passive which ends in *ta*, as

¹ I have to thank Mr. Kellogg, of Allahabad, author of the best, if not of the only really good Hindi Grammar, for communicating this form to me in a letter. I was previously unaware of it.

mentioned above. This form of the passive is only used in a few tenses, thus मारना "to beat," Passive present में मारीदा "I am beaten," Future में मारीदांगा "I shall be beaten," Potential (old present) में मारीदा "I may be beaten."

With these exceptions, there is no synthetic form for the passive in the modern languages. This phase is usually formed by an analytical process. It is not much used, the construction of sentences being more frequently reversed, so as to make the verb active. The large number of neuter verbs also renders a passive for the most part unnecessary. It does exist, however, and is formed by adding the verb जा "to go," to the past participle of the passive, जा doing all the conjugational work, and the participle merely varying for number and gender.

Thus from मार "beat," H. Sing. मारा जाना "to be beaten" *m.*, मारी जाना *f.*, Plur. मारे जाना *m.*, मारी जाना *f.*, P. मारिजा जाना *m.*, मारी *f.*, Plur. मारे *m.*, मारीजा *f.* Gujarati also uses this method side by side with the passive intransitive, as मार्यो जवुं "to be beaten," with the participle varied for gender and number as in the others. M. मारिजा जाखे, B. मारा जाहते, O. मारा जिना. In these two last the participle does not vary for gender or number.

Occasionally in G. and M. a passive is formed by adding the substantive verb to the past participle, thus M. मारि बांधखी होती "the cow was tied," and G. ग्रंथ कर्यो छे "the book is made;" such a construction would in the other languages be incorrect, or, if used at all, would have a different meaning altogether.

The use of जाना "to go," to form a passive, seems somewhat unnatural; होना "to be," would occur as the most fitting verb for this purpose. I am tempted to hazard a conjecture that the use of जाना in this way has arisen from the Prakrit passive form in *ijja*. This, as we have seen above, has given a regular

passive to Sindhi and Marwari, and it seems possible that the masses who had quite forgotten, or had never known, the meaning of the added *j*, may unconsciously have glided into the practice of confounding it with the **ञ** of the common word **जा**, which would lead them to consider the verbal stem preceding it as a passive participle. Thus a form **मारिजे** "he is beaten," would easily pass into **मारा जाए**, as in modern Hindi. The process must, of course, have been unconscious, as all such processes are, but the supposition does not involve a more violent twisting of words and meanings than many others which are better supported by actual facts.

The non-Aryan party have something to say on this head.¹ They point out that the Dravidian languages, like our seven, largely avoid the use of the passive by having recourse to neuter verbs, and that with them, as with us, the neuter is often only another form of the same root as the active. Indeed, the similarity in this respect is very striking, the process is, to a great extent, the same in both groups, though the means employed are different. The passive does not, strictly speaking, occur in the Dravidian languages; a clumsy effort is sometimes made to produce one, by adding the verb *padu* "to happen" (Sanskrit **पत्**, modern Aryan **पड़**) to an infinitive or noun of quality. This process, however, is as strained and foreign to elegant speech as the construction with *jâ* is in the Aryan group. It appears, also, that the verb *poju* "to go," is also used in Tamil to form a passive, as also a verb meaning "to eat," which latter is parallel to our North-Indian expression **मार खाना** "to eat a beating" = "to be beaten." In this, as in so many other instances of alleged non-Aryan influence, the known facts do not justify us in saying more than that there is a resemblance between the two groups of languages, but that it is not clear which borrowed the process, or whether it was ever

¹ Caldwell, pp. 353, 364 (first edition).

borrowed at all. There is no reason why it should not have grown up simultaneously and naturally in both families.

§ 26. We now come to the Causal, an important and much used phase of the verb. Sanskrit forms the causal by adding the syllable *aya* to the root, which often also takes *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, √ क् “do,” causal कारयति. There is, however, in Sanskrit a small class of verbs which form the causal by inserting ए between the root and the characteristic *aya*. These are principally roots ending in a vowel ; but in Pali and the Prakrits the form of the causal in ए has been extended to a very large number of stems, in fact to nearly every verb in those languages. In Pali, however, its use is optional, thus √ पक् “cook,” causal *pācheti*, *pāchayati*, *pāchāpeti*, *pāchāpayati*.¹ In Prakrit, also, there are the two processes, by the first of which the *aya* of Sanskrit becomes *e*, thus कारयति = Pr. कारेह, हासयति = हासेह (Var. vii. 26), and by the second the inserted ए is softened to ए, thus giving कारावेह or कारावेह (*ib.* 27). It is from this form, and not from *aya*, as I erroneously supposed in Vol. I. p. 20, that the modern causal arises. Even in Prakrit the *e* in *kāraṇēi* is frequently omitted, as it is also in *kāreṇi*, and we find such forms as *kārai*, *tārai*, side by side with *kāraṇai* (Weber, Hala, p. 60), so that there remains only *ā* for the modern causal.

Among the modern languages Marathi stands alone in respect of its causal, and, as in so many other points, exhibits a hesitation and confusion which confirm the impression of its being a backward language which has not so thoroughly emancipated itself from the Prakrit stage as the others. Whereas these latter have passed through the period in which rival forms conflicted for the mastery, and have definitely settled upon one type to be used universally, the former pre-

¹ Kaccāyana, Senart, Journal Asiatique, vol. xvii. p. 436.

sents us with several alternative suffixes, none of which appears to have obtained undisputed prominence. The authorities for Marathi consist of the classical writers, the one dictionary-maker, Molesworth, and a host of grammarians, all of whom differ among themselves, so that one is driven to ask, "who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

The competing forms are : *ava*, *iva*, *tva*, *avi*, *áva*, *ávi*, and one sees at a glance that they are all derived from one source, the causal with वृ , modified in Prakrit to वृ . The difficulty lies in the vowels. Where one authority gives a causal in *ava* to a particular verb, another makes the causal of that same verb by adding *iva*, and so on. Stevenson (Marathi Grammar, p. 87) teaches that *ava* is the ordinary form, as *basanē* "to sit," *basavanē* "to seat." This type, however, he adds, is peculiar to the Konkan or lowlands along the coast; in the Dakhin or centre table land above the passes the form *iva* is more used, as *karanē* "to do," *karivanē* "to cause to do." A third form *avi* is said to be "of a middle class," and not characteristic of either dialect, as *karavinē*. It is to be noted here that the causal suffix, strictly speaking, ends with the *v*, and the vowels that follow this letter may fairly be regarded as mere junction vowels, used to add the terminations to the stem. In those of the cognate languages which use *á* as the causal suffix, the junction vowel used is either *i*, as B. *kará-i-te*, O. *kará-i-bá*, S. *kará-i-nu*, or *u*, as Old-H. *kará-u-ná*, P. *kará-u-ná*, or hardened to *va*, as G. *kará-va-vuṅ*. Dismissing, then, the final vowel as unconnected with the suffix, we get for Marathi four types, *av*, *áv*, *iv*, *iv*. Of these four *áv* approaches most closely to the Prakrit, and may therefore be regarded as the original type from which, by a shortening of the vowel, comes *av*, which, all things considered, is perhaps the most common and regular; a further weakening of the vowel produces *iv*; and the fourth form, *iv*, probably owes its long vowel to the Marathi habit of lengthening vowels at the end of a word, or

in a syllable, where the stress or accent falls. Thus all four forms may be used, as

करखें "to do," करवखें, करावखें, करिवखें, करीवखें; also करविखें, and करीविखें "to cause to do."¹

Causals may be formed from every verb in the language, whether neuter, active, active or passive intransitive. The meaning of the causal differs, of course, according to that of the simple verb.

Those formed from simple neuters or active intransitives are generally merely actives in sense, as

बस "sit,"	बसव "seat."
मिळ "meet,"	मिळव (junction vowel व्) "mix."
निज "sleep,"	निजव "put to sleep," "soothe."

Those from actives are causal in meaning, as

मार "strike,"	मारव "cause to strike."
शिक "teach,"	शिकव "cause to teach."

Those from passive intransitives are passive causals, as

फिर "turn" (<i>i.e.</i> be turned),	फिरव "cause to be turned."
कट "be cut,"	कटव, कटाव "cause to be cut."

Simple roots ending in vowels insert a *v* between the stem and the suffix to avoid hiatus, as

खा "eat,"	खावव (junction vowel व्) "cause to eat."
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So also with roots ending in *ह्*, as

लिह "write,"	लिहवव "cause to write."
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The various forms of the causal suffix in Marathi may be regarded as types of a stage of transition which the other lan-

¹ Godbole's Marathi Grammar, p. 102, § 279.

guages have passed by. The following are examples of the causal in these latter :

लिख "write," H. P. B. O. S. लिखा "cause to write," (H. Pres. *likhātā*, Pret. *likhāyā*, Aor. *likhāe*, or *likhāy*, or *likhāve*.)

पठ "read," *id.* पठा "cause to read."

सुन "hear," *id.* सुना "cause to hear."

In Hindi, as in the other languages, the causal of a neuter verb is, in effect, nothing more than an active, as

बना "be made,"	बनाना "make."
बोखना "speak,"	बुखाना "call" (<i>i.e.</i> "cause to speak.")
चलना "move,"	चलाना "drive."
जागना "be awake,"	जागाना "awaken."
उठना "rise,"	उठाना "raise."
पकना "be cooked,"	पकाना "cook."

So also in the case of double verbs given in §§ 20, 21, the active form, with long vowel in the stem syllable, may be regarded as a causal. In fact, it might be said, looking at the matter with reference to meaning, that the modern languages have two ways of forming the causal, one in which the short vowel of the stem is lengthened, the other in which *d* or some other suffix is added. Looking at it in another way with reference to form, the division which I have adopted commends itself, the forms with a long vowel in the stem being regarded as actives, those with the added syllable as causals. In point of derivation, however, both forms are causals. There is a wonderful, though unconscious, economy in our languages; where Prakrit has more types than one for the same phase of a verb, the modern languages retain them all, but give to each a different meaning. For instance, Prakrit has three types for the passive, one in which the final consonant of the stem is doubled by absorption of the *च्* of Skr. as *gamyate* = *gammaï*,

a second in *ta*, as *gamyate* = *gamtadi*, and a third in *ija*, as *gamyate* = *gamijjadi*. The first of these types, having lost whatever might remind the speaker of its passive character, has been adopted in the modern languages as the form of the simple neuter verb, the second survives in the Panjabi passive, as *māridā* = *mārtadi*, the third in the Sindhi and Marwari passive given in § 25. So, also, it seems to me that the two types of the Prakrit causal have been separately utilized; that which corresponds to the Sanskrit type in *aya* with long or *guṇa* vowel in the stem, has become in the moderns an active verb, as *hārayati* = *hāreī* = *hār*; *trotayati* = *torēi* = *tor*; while that which takes the *प्* causal is preserved as the ordinary causal of the moderns, as *kārayati* (*karāpayati*) = *karāvei* = *karā*.

Often, however, both forms exist together, and there is little or no apparent distinction between them; thus from **फटना** are made both **फाटना** and **फटाना**, from **हरना** are made **हारना** and **हराना**, and so in many other instances.

The causal, properly so called, namely, that with the suffix *ā*, *āv*, etc., has always a short vowel in the stem syllable, except in a few instances where the stem vowel is *ṛiddhi*, in which case it is sometimes retained. Thus in the double verbs the causal suffix may be regarded as added to the neuter form, as in

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.	CAUSAL.
तप	ताव	तपा
घुस	घोस	घुसा

In such cases, however, we more commonly find the double or passive causal.

Single verbs with a long or *guṇa* stem-vowel have causals with the corresponding short or simple vowel, as in the examples **बोसना** and **बुसाना**, **जागना** and **जगाना** given above.

Verbs whose simple stems end in a vowel insert a semivowel before the termination of the causal, and change the vowel of the stem, if *ā*, *ī*, or *e*, into *i*, if *ū* or *o*, into *u*. The semivowel

used is sometimes ष or र, but more commonly ष. Thus, लेना "to take," लिवाना "to cause to take," but—

H. देना "give,"	दिखाना "cause to give."
जीना "live,"	जिखाना "cause to live."
पीना "drink,"	पिखाना "give to drink."
खाना "eat,"	खिखाना "feed."
धोना "wash,"	धुखाना "cause to wash."
सोना "sleep,"	सुखाना "put to sleep."
रोना "weep,"	रखाना "make to weep."

In a few cases of stems ending in ह, or in aspirates, the ष is optionally inserted, as

H. कहना "say,"	कहाना	and कहखाना "cause to say,"
		"be called."
देखना "see,"	दिखाना	,, दिखखाना "show."
सीखना "learn,"	सिखाना	,, सिखखाना "teach."
बैठना "sit,"	बिठाना (or बैठ)	,, बिठखाना (बैठ) "seat."

A similar method exists in Sindhi, but with र instead of ष, as is customary with that language, as¹

दिखयु "give,"	दिखारयु "cause to give."
चुखयु "leak,"	चुखारयु "cause to leak."
बिहयु "sit,"	बिहारयु "seat."
सिखयु "learn,"	सिखारयु "teach."
उचयु "rise,"	उचारयु "raise."
सुन्हयु "sleep,"	सुन्हारयु "put to sleep."

Here the र is inserted after the causal suffix, and this was probably the method originally in force in Hindi, for we find in the mediæval poets such words as *dikhârna* "to show," and even in modern colloquial usage *baithâlnâ* is quite as common

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 256.

as *bīḥlānā*. Gujarati forms its causal in an analogous way, but uses ङ instead of र, as

धावुं "suck,"	धवाङु "give suck."
शीवुं "sew,"	शीवाङु "cause to sew."
वागुं "sound,"	वगाङु "strike" (a bell, etc.)

After words ending in a vowel, the suffix takes ञ to prevent hiatus, and so also after ह, as

बा (बुं) "be,"	बवाङु "cause to be."
खावुं "eat,"	खवाङु "feed."
देवुं "give,"	देवाङु "cause to give."
सेहवुं "endure,"	सेहवाङु "cause to endure."
कोहवुं "rot,"	कोहवाङु "cause to rot."

This language, like Hindi, also reverses the position of the long vowel of the causal suffix, and uses such forms as *dhavarāv*, *khavarāv*, with change of ङ to र.

There is nothing remarkable about the Panjabi causal, which is identical with Old Hindi, merely retaining the junction vowel *u*, as *khilā-u-nā*, *dikhā-u-nā*. In both these languages the old form *āu* has, in a few instances, changed to *o* instead of *ā*, as

भिगोना "to wet,"	from भोगना "to be wet."
डुबोना "to drown,"	„ डुबना "to be drowned."

Bengali and Oriya have only the causal form in *ā* with junction vowel *i*, as B. *karā-i-te*, O. *karā-i-bā*, and use this form in preference to that with the long stem vowel, even in those causals which are, in meaning, simple actives.

There are thus, independently of the stem with the long or *guṇa* vowel, which I prefer to treat as an active, two separate systems of forming the causal in the seven languages: one starting from the Prakrit causal in *āve*, and exhibiting the forms *āva*, *ava*, *īca*, *īca*, *āv*, *āu*, *o*, *ā*; the other starting, I know

not whence, but probably from a method in use in early Aryan speech, which has only been preserved by the classical language in a few instances, and exhibiting the forms *ār*, *āḍ*, *āl*, *rā*, *lā*. Whether these two forms are connected by an interchange between the two semivowels *l* and *v*, is a problem which must remain for future research. Such a connexion is not impossible, and is even, in my opinion, highly probable.

§ 27. The Passive Causal may be also called the double causal. The use of either term depends upon the point of view of the speaker, for whether I say, "I cause Rām to be struck by Shyām," or, "I cause Shyām to strike Rām," the idea is the same. As regards form, the term double causal is more appropriate in some languages. In H. and P. this phrase is constructed by adding to the stem H. वा, P. वाड, in which we should, I think, recognize the syllable *āv* of the single causal shortened, and another *āv* added to it, thus from *sun* "hear," comes causal *sunā*, "cause to hear," "tell," double causal *sunvā*,¹ "cause to cause to hear," "cause to tell;" here, as *sunā* is from the fuller form *sunāv*, so *sunvā* is from *sunāv + āv = sunav + ā = sunvā*. This double or passive causal is in use mostly with neuter and active intransitive stems, whose single causal is naturally an active, as बनना "be made," बनाना "make," बनवाना "cause to be made." Thus they say, जड बनता "The fort is being built;" चवई जड बनाता "The architect is building the fort;" and राजा चवई के द्वारा जड बनवाता "The king is causing the fort to be built by the architect." In this last sentence, and in all similar phrases, the nature of the construction is such that we can only translate it by the passive causal, we could not render "The king causes the architect to build," etc., by बनवाना in any other way than by putting "architect"

¹ Generally, the semivowel in this form is pronounced softly, almost like the English *w*, so that *sunvānd* would more nearly represent the sound than *sunvānd*. The *v*, however, in all Indian languages is a softer sound than our *v*.

in the ablative with द्वारा or से. When we are told, therefore, that this phase means "to cause to do" (the action of a neuter verb), the assertion, though correctly expressing the form, is incorrect as to the meaning; the dictionary-makers here halt between two opinions. Thus

उठ "rise,"	उठा "raise" (i.e. "cause to rise"),	उठवा "cause to be raised" (i.e. "cause A to cause B to rise").
कट "be cut,"	काट "cut,"	कटावा "cause to cut."
खुल "be open,"	खोल "open,"	खुलवा "cause to open."

In double verbs, like those just quoted, however, the single causal in *d* may be used, as कटा "cause to cut." As a general rule, the exact meaning of stems in this phase must be gathered from the sentence in which they are used.

Sindhi makes its double causal by inserting *ra* (Trumpp, 257), as

विर्ष "be weary,"	विर्षा "make weary,tire,"	विर्षारा "cause to make weary."
घा "wound,"	घारा "cause to wound,"	घारारा "cause to cause to wound, or cause (another) to be wounded."

Stack instances also passive causals formed on the same model as ordinary passives, thus

सल "be on fire,"	साल "burn,"	साला "cause to burn,"	माडारल "be caused to be burnt."
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One example given by him shows a full range of phases, as धापयु "to be sucked, to issue" (as milk from the breast), neuter; धारयु "to suck the breast," active; धारजयु "to be sucked," pass.; धापिजयु "to give suck," neut. pass.; धारारयु "to suckle," caus.; धारारजयु "to be suckled," pass. caus.;

धाराराह्यु "to cause (another) to suckle," double caus.;
 धाराराह्यु "to cause to be suckled by another," double pass.
 caus. The whole of these forms, however, are rarely found in
 one verbal stem. The double causal is common enough, thus
 from the causals mentioned in the last section are derived
 double causals—

सुम्हारयु "to put to sleep," सुम्हाराराह्यु "to cause to put to sleep."
 उचारयु "to raise," उचाराराह्यु "to cause to raise" (H. उटवान्).

§ 28. Although the suffixed syllables shown in § 26 generally
 and regularly indicate the causal phase, yet there are numerous
 verbs having this suffix which are neuter, active intransitive,
 or passive intransitive. As mentioned in § 11, these stems are
 probably built on the model of Sanskrit denominatives, and
 owe their long vowel to the *aya* or *āya* of that form. Hence
 they come to resemble in form modern causals.

In Sindhi these stems have a development peculiar to that
 language, and have a corresponding active phase like the double
 stems mentioned in § 19. Trumpp gives (p. 252, *et seqq.*) the
 following examples :

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.
उसामयु "to be extinguished,"	उसाराह्यु "to extinguish."
उड़ामयु "to fly,"	उड़ाराह्यु "to make fly, to spend."
जापयु } "to be born,"	जययु "to bring forth."
जमयु }	
झापयु "to be satiated,"	झाराह्यु "to satiate."
खामयु "to be on fire,"	खाराह्यु "to burn."
मापयु } "to be contained,"	माराह्यु "to contain."
मामयु }	
विहामयु "to be passed, to pass" (as time),	विहाराह्यु "to pass the time."
हपामयु "to grow less,"	हपाराह्यु "to lessen."

In this group the neuter stems have the type *āpa* and *āma*, which, if we regard them as derived from the Prakrit type *ābe* of the causal, will appear as respectively a hardening and a softening of the *b* of Prakrit. In some cases the neuter form is clearly derived from the older causal, as in **मारु** “to contain,” rather, “to go into,” Skr. $\sqrt{\text{मा}}$ “to measure;” but **मापु**, Skr. caus. **मापयति** “to cause to measure,” where, by a natural inversion of the sense, the causal has become neuter. In the case of **जापु** the process by which the meaning has been arrived at from Sanskrit $\sqrt{\text{जन्}}$ is less clear. The other stems are also obscure, and I possess no data on which to establish any satisfactory explanation.

Sindhi stands alone in respect of this group; Hindi and Panjabi have a number of neuter stems with causal terminations, which stand on a different footing, and recall by their meaning the Sanskrit denominatives, having no corresponding active forms, as—

H. **खिसाना** “to be abashed,” “to shrink away.”

खियाना “to be worn out.”

खुबसाना “to itch.”

खबराना “to be agitated,” “to be in fear” P. **खबराना**.

खमाना “to bask in the sun.”

खंचसाना “to tremble,” “to be unsteady.” P. *id.*

P. **खरखाना** “to grow soft” (a scar).

खुन्खाना “to wither,” to grow flaccid.” P. *id.*

In words of this class, also, a syllable **ह्य** is often inserted, as

खिसियाना “to grin.”

P. **खिसिआना** *id.*

This type is evidently closely connected with the passive of Gujarati and other dialects given in § 24, which I have been led by the considerations here mentioned to regard as a passive

intransitive. It seems also to be connected with the passive intransitive in B. in such passages as राजपुत्र हवे रूप बचये जानाय ॥ "He must be a king's son, by his appearance and marks (of birth) it is known."—Bhârat, B.-S. 378, where *jândy* = *jândē*, "it appears," "it is evident," a construction exactly parallel to the Gujarati phrases quoted in § 24.

Marathi has similarly neuters with a causal type, which recall the method of formation of the Sanskrit denominative, inasmuch as they are referred by the grammarians to a nominal origin, thus—

कड़का "a cracking or crashing sound;" कड़काविये "to crack, crash;" कड़कावणे "to roar at," "to make a crashing noise."

कमता (from Persian کم) "deficient," कमतावणे "to grow less."

करकर "a grating sound," करकराविये "to grind the teeth."

कांचा (Skr.) "doubt," काकसाविये "to be doubtful."

—but this may also be formed from the two words का "why?" कसा "how?" and would thus mean "to why-and-how," "to hum and ha;" just as they use in Urdu the phrase *کیت و کعل کرنا* "to prevaricate," literally to make "would that!" and "perhaps."

A distinction may apparently be drawn in many cases between forms in *āva* and those in *āvi*, the former being rather denominatives, and as such neuter, while the latter are causals. Thus from घोरका "little," "few," घोरकावणे "to grow less," and घोरकाविये "to make less," but the authorities accessible to me are not agreed about this point, and I therefore hesitate to make any definite assertion on the subject. Molesworth gives, for instance, डरकावणे n, "to bellow," "bluster," and डरकाविये "to frighten by bellowing;" also डरावणी "the act of roaring at," from डराविये or डरविये "to intimidate," where

the *i* of the infinitive seems to be represented by *a* in the noun.

On the other hand, the close connexion of these neuters with the passive type is seen in S., where the passive characteristic **इञ्** is used, according to Stack, convertibly with the neuter, having the short vowel. Thus **द्वाइञ्** or **द्वाइञ्जञ्** "to be satiated;" while there are also verbs of two forms, one with the neuter type, the other with the causal type, but both having a neuter sense, as **डिरञ्** and **डिराइञ्** "to grow loose or slack."

Further examples are—

झपञ् and **झपिञ्जञ्** "to grow less;" also **झपामञ्** "to decrease."

झकाइञ्जञ् and **झकिञ्जञ्** "to fade," "tarnish."

माइञ् and **माइञ्जञ्** "to be contained in."

It is not certain how far later and better scholars like Trumpp would confirm the accuracy of Stack's definition. He seems to be somewhat inaccurate and careless in drawing the distinction between the various phases of the verb.

§ 29. Secondary verbs are not so numerous as secondary nouns, and those that exist have, for the most part, a familiar or trivial meaning. They are formed by the addition of a syllable to the verbal stem, or to a noun. This latter feature is especially common in H. verbs formed from feminine nouns in *aka* (Vol. II. p. 31), thus Behari Lāl.

कुटी न शिशुता की झलक झलकी जीवन चंन ।

"The splendour of childhood has not ceased, (yet) youth shines in the limbs."—Sats. 17.

Here the substantive **झलक** "glitter," "splendour" (probably formed from $\sqrt{\text{जल}}$), gives rise to a verb **झलकना** "to shine." Similarly all the nouns quoted in the passage referred to in Vol. II. have verbs formed from them as there stated. It is un-

necessary to give a list of them, and it may be here observed that in languages which, like English, have advanced far into the analytical stage, great freedom of formation exists, so that many words may be used either as nouns or verbs. Many nouns have, in common usage, verbal terminations added to them, and thus become verbs. We see constantly in modern English, French, and German, new verbs thus formed, as, for instance, by adding *-ize*, *-iser*, or *-isiren*, as *colonize*, *coloniser*, *colonisiren*, several of which have not found their way into dictionaries. The same is the case with our Indian languages, and it is impossible here to follow or set forth all these constantly arising innovations. Those which have received the sanction of literature will be found in the dictionaries, and many more will probably be admitted to the dictionaries of the future, if the authors of those works are wise enough to keep pace with the actual growth of language, and do not permit an overstrained purism to prohibit them from truly recording the language as it exists in their day.

I will content myself with giving a few examples of this class of verbs from Marathi, which, as I have before noticed, is very rich in forms of this kind. This language has secondary stems formed by the addition of चट, चट, चाट, चढ, चळ, चळ, चर, a series the items of which seem to indicate a progressive softening from some earlier type. Thus—

घासणे "to rub" (Skr. √ घृष्), secondary stems घसटणे "rub," घसरणे "slip," घसवटणे (a potential form) "graze the skin," "be practised in" (an art or science), घसाढणे "scour" (pots), घासटणे a, "rub off, deface," ञ, "be rubbed," "be despoiled of." Analogous is H. चसीटना "drag."

डुबणे "to sink" (rarely used), डुबणे, डुंभ°, डुम°, "to splash about in the water," डुबकणे *id.*, डुबकविणे "to plunge into water," (causal) डुबकळणे "to dip."

घान "place," घानारथे "to arrange."

घाप "pat," घापटथे "to pat," घापसथे "to back water," "to steady a vessel by short strokes of the oars while working the sails."

दंड "stick," दंडथे "to press, punish," दंडपथे "to compress," दंडावथे "to stiffen," compare B. दंडारते "to stand up."

Materials are, unfortunately, deficient, so that in the present state of research, no thorough analysis can be made. Nor can any definite separation into classes be effected. As so many verbs of this kind, however, are derived from nouns, the course to be pursued would probably be to affiliate each group of verbs to that formation of nouns with which it corresponds, verbs which add ष to the primary stem being regarded as formed from nouns in ष, and so on. In this method no further explanation is required for secondary verbs, as the origin of the affirmative syllable has been explained under the noun. Thus the secondary verbs, whose added syllable is *at*, or *vat*, are explained under nouns so ending in Vol. II. p. 65, those having *al*, *al*, or cognate forms, are referable to the nouns in Vol. II. p. 90, and so on.

§ 30. Reduplicated and imitative verbal stems are very common. The former usually express sounds, or motions, while both frequently partake of the denominative character and type.

In Hindi the second syllable usually contains the same consonants and vowels as the first, and the question arises whether the first or the second of the two syllables is the original, in other words, whether reduplication is effected by prefixing or affixing a syllable. The following examples show that the reduplicated syllable, whichever it be, contains, as a rule, the same vowel as the original.

(a) with *a*.

खटखटाणा "to knock, pat, rap," from खटखट *n. f.* onomatopœa.

खडखडाणा "to clatter, rattle, jar," from खडक् n. f. onomatopœa.

खदखदाणा "to bubble, simmer,"

"

खलखलाणा "to rumble" (of bowels, Gk. κοκορυγέω, βοβορούζω),
onomatop.

गहगहणा "to quiver," probably connected with गह् q.d. "to be
seized and shaken."

हलहलणा "to mutter, murmur."

झडझडाणा "to flap, flop," from झडना "to fall off."

झणझणाणा "to tinkle, jingle, clank," Skr. झणझण.

झलझलाणा "to glitter, glare, throb," Skr. ज्वल्?

फडफडाणा "to flutter, twitch," Skr. स्फूर्?

धरधराणा "to tremble, quiver," probably onomatop.

(β) with *i*.

खिखिखिणाणा "to giggle, chuckle, titter," onomatop.

गिडगिडाणा "to quiver, waver" (the voice in supplication), dimly
traceable to Skr. गै, गीति?

घियाघियाणा "to turn sick at," from घिया "disgust," Skr. घृणा;
there are also verbs घियायाना, घियायाना and घियाणा.

चिचियाणा "to squeak," onomatop.

चिनचिनाणा *id.* "

झिडझिडाणा "to rave, rage, scold."

टिंटींगणा "to twang," onomatop.

(γ) with *u*.

खुपखुपाणा "to envy, be spiteful," perhaps from Skr. खुम् through
H. खुभना and खुपना "to pierce."

गुंगुणाणा "to mutter."

चुपचुपाणा "to be silent, to move about quietly," from चुप "silent."

चुलचुलाणा "to itch, tickle."

तुलतुलाणा "to be soft or squashy."

फुसफुसाना "to whisper," onomatop.

भुरभुराना "to powder, sprinkle."

The above exhibit the ordinary type of this class, in which both syllables are the same. In some cases, where the root-syllable ends in a nasal, the first syllable of the reduplicated word softens the nasal to anuswāra, as in गुनगुनाना, चंचनाना "to throb," and even with ख, as चंचनाना "to be unsteady," where the reduplication takes place already in Sanskrit चंचल. From the analogy of this last word we may conclude that the latter of the two syllables is the original one, and that reduplication has been effected by prefixing a syllable. There is, however, another class of such words, in which the second syllable differs from the first in the initial consonant, which, for some reason, is generally a labial. Thus side by side with खदखदाना, खलखलाना are found खदबदाना and खलबलाना with the same meaning. So also चुलचुलाना and चुलबुलाना, the latter with the different, though allied, meaning of being restless or fidgety. In other examples there is some slight difference of meaning in the various forms, thus from चर, which has the general sense of moving, come the adjectives चरचरा "talkative," चरपरा "acid, pungent," चरफरा "active," चरवरा "expert, alert," whence the verbs चरचराना "to crackle, to sputter, to scold," चरपराना "to smart," चरफराना "to shake, swing," चरवराना "to speak plausibly, to wheedle." Other instances are—

छटपटाना "to toss, tumble, flounder."

झडबडाना "to be on fire."

झिलमिलाना "to flicker."

तडफडाना "to flutter."

तिरमिराना "to dazzle, glisten."

बटपटाना "to stagger."

बडबडाना "to stammer, stutter."

In Panjabi, as also to a great extent in other languages, there is a tendency to use a reduplicated substantive with an ancillary verb, rather than a reduplicated verb itself. These substantives are, to a large extent, imitative or onomatopoeic, as ठों ठों करना "to bang, to pop," expressing the sound of a gun going off, चुं चुं करना "to pipe," as young birds. It has, however, a large number of the same words, as Hindi. Of these, the following may be cited: चिड़चिड़ाउया "to prate, sputter," चिड़मिड़ाउया "to smart," चुलचुलाउया and चुलचुल "to flutter," झयझयाउया "to tingle" as the limbs when benumbed.

In Sindhi, also, I find reduplicated nouns, but few, if any, verbs, and the language does not appear to be rich even in those. From सहसह "blaze," comes सहसहाहय "to blaze;" and a few more may be found, but the large group given in Hindi, to which many more might have been added, is either not existent or not recorded.

Gujarati is fuller in this respect, as कडकडवुं and कडकडावुं "to rattle," also खडखडवुं; चटपटवुं "to fret," चयचयवुं "to throb, smart," छयछयवुं "to clink, clank," also झयझयवुं; फडफडवुं "to flap, to scold," and फडफडावुं; खडखडवुं "to shake, rock." In its vocabulary Gujarati agrees in the main with Hindi.

As might be expected from the genius of Marathi, there is a great variety of such verbs, more even than in Hindi. In examining only the first consonant of the alphabet, numerous formations of this kind are observed. Thus from क्कान्त for Skr. क्लान्त "fatigued," by prefixing a shortened form कं, they make कंक्कान्तये "to be distressed, to starve," and कंक्कान्तये "to worry, harass." From the onomatop. कच "brawl," "noise," "row," comes first a reduplicated noun कचकच, and then कचकचये "to gnash the teeth," कचाचये "to screech," कचकारये "to slip, give way with a noise." With a second syllable added, beginning

(as we have seen in H.) as such syllables often do with a labial, is the imitative substantive **क्वचमक्व** expressive of "squashing," "muddling of soft substances," also of "things grating on the ear," or "being gritty in the mouth," whence **क्वचमक्वे** (from **क्वचमक्वे**) "to dabble with mud," "to stir," "to finger," which, from a sort of remembrance of **मठ** "dirt," is often changed into **क्वचमठक्वे** "to make a mess by dabbling." Another imitative syllable, which it is not necessary to regard as formally derived from Sanskrit **कृत्** "cut," or from **कट** "trouble," though the existence of these words has probably led the native mind in that direction, is **क्वट** expressive of "teasing, quarrelling;" whence **क्वटक्वटक्वे** "to wrangle, tease by squabbling," "to make harsh or cracking sounds." Allied to this is the word **क्वडक्वड** expressive of "the snapping of little things," whence **क्वडक्वडक्वे**, which may be generally rendered "to go *kaḍkaḍ*," that is, "to crash, crack, peal, to squabble, to hiss and bubble as hot water, oil," etc., also, "to be violently angry." Perhaps connected with this is **क्वडमडक्वे** "to be feverish, to glow, ache," which, from some remembrance of **मोड** "breaking," is also pronounced **क्वडमोडक्वे**. In these outlying words, the irregular cavalry of language, forms melt into one another, like a cloud of Pandours or Cossacks hovering on the outskirts of an army, bound by no law, and disregarding all the acknowledged tactics. A list here follows :

क्वडक्वडक्वे "to be feverish," from **क्वड** and **क्वडक्वड** "feverishness,"
"heat and throbbing," "cramp."

क्वडक्वडक्वे "to caw" (as a crow), from **क्वडक्वड** "cawing" or any other
harsh sound.

क्वठक्वठक्वे "to glow with heat, to be qualmish" (as the stomach), from
क्वठक्वठ a word meaning "all sorts of disorders brought on
by heat, or rage," possibly connected with Sanskrit **क्वड**
"dispute."

कसकसर्थे "to ache, shudder, palpitate," from कसकस "pains and aches."

कठमठर्थे the same as कठकठर्थे.

कठवठर्थे "to writhe, yearn."

किकिकिर्थे "to chatter" (as a monkey), from किकिकि "any gritty or sharp clacking sound."

कुणकुणर्थे "to whisper, mutter, murmur," from कुणकुण "low, soft murmuring."

Under other letters the following may be quoted :

झडझडर्थे "to go to work smartly," from झडझड "smartly, quickly," connected with झट, which in all the languages means "quick!" "look sharp!"

झबझबर्थे "to tinkle, tingle, ring."

झळझळर्थे "to glitter, sparkle."

झुरझुरर्थे "to trickle, ooze, pine away."

फरफरर्थे "to twitch, flutter."

मिरमिरर्थे "to sting, be pungent."

In Bengali such forms are less common, it is by nature the language of a poor scanty population, and when Bengal became rich and populous, new ideas were expressed by borrowing from Sanskrit, instead of forming new words from the existing resources. There are numerous reduplicated nouns, but these are verbalized rather by adding the verb *kar*, than by making a new verb. Thus, where M. makes a verb *jhanjhanāṇe*, B. prefers to say झन झन or झञ्झन करिते. The following are a few examples :

बुबबुबारते "to buzz, growl."

झिझझि करिते "to blaze, glitter."

टगटग व० "to throb, ache."

टिपटिपारते "to fidget, twitch."

ढकाढकि क० "to backbite or quarrel mutually."

डुकडुका क० "to rap, tap."

डसडस क० "to sparkle, shine."

धुरधुरिते "to quiver, tremble, shake."

भयभयार्ते "to buzz, hum."

भुडभुडार्ते "to murmur, whisper."

Many of these words are, as it has been seen, onomatopoeitic, and in a language so unfixed as Bengali, it is impossible to say how many are really admitted into the proper stock of the language, and how many are mere local or individual peculiarities. Thus Bharat Chandra adorns, or disfigures, his poems by innumerable fanciful words of this sort, which probably no one but he ever used, and which he has merely invented for the occasion, *e.g.*

झनझन कङ्कस रसरस नूपुर ।

धुनु धुनु धधुर जोले ।

"The bracelets go *ghan ghan* ! the anklets go *ran ran* !

Ghunu ghunu goes the girdle of bells."—B.-S. 299.

The remarks made about Bengali apply equally to Oriya, in which there is not any very extended use either of reduplicated or onomatopoeitic nouns or verbs.

§ 31. Occasional mention has been made in the foregoing sections of some of the stems used in the Gipsy verb. That strange, wandering, low-caste people has, however, picked up many of its words from Iranian and Slavonic, as well as from non-Aryan sources. But true to the original instincts of its race, it has retained Aryan stems for its most common words, only adopting new words to express the few new ideas which, in spite of its nomad unsociable life, have been forced upon it by circumstances.

Rejection of initial *h* occurs in many words, as *asāra* "to

laugh," Skr. √ हस, even when the initial *h* has arisen from an earlier aspirated letter, as in *uvāva* "to become," Skr. √ भू, Pr. हो. An *a* is also prefixed to roots, as *arakāva* "to guard, to find," Skr. √ रक्ष, H. रक्षना; and in the impersonal verb *arātilotar* "it is night," Skr. रात्रि. As might be expected, however, the Prakrit or modern form of verbal stems is that generally adopted. Thus *katāva* "to spin," H. कातना, *kerāva* "to do," H. करना, *kināva* "to buy," Skr. √ क्री, H. कीटना, *ghoshāva* "to clean," Skr. √ घृष्, H. चिसाना "to rub," but घृष् might give a Pr. घृष्, whence this word, also pronounced *kho-shāva*. *Kovliovāva*, from *kovlo uvāva*, Skr. कोमल, with हो "to be," "to be soft;" *khānjiovāva*, from *khānj uvāva*, "to scratch, to itch," Skr. कण्डू "itch," H. खाज, खुजली. *Khāsiovāva*, also *khāsāva*, "to cough," Skr. √ कास्, but H. खांसना. *Khandāva* "to dig," Skr. √ खन्; *khāva* "to eat," Skr. √ खाद्, Pr. खा, H. id., but the nomads of northern Rumelia use a form *khaderāva*, which preserves the *d* of Sanskrit. *Khniovāva* for *khino uvāva*, Skr. खिन्न with हो "to be fatigued."

There are three very similar verbs which illustrate the principle of stem-formation in this language well; *ghedāva* "to assemble," *ghelāva* "to bring," *ghenāva* "to count." The last of these three reminds us of Skr. √ गण्, H. गिनना, for the *gh* is only so written to secure the *g* being pronounced hard; the p.p. is *ghendo*, Skr. गणित; *ghedāva* is apparently for *ghen dāva*, the latter word meaning "to give," and being added as an ancillary, just as देना is in H., so that *ghen dāva* = H. गिन देना. Its p.p. is *ghedino*, and that of *dāva* is *dino*, Pr. दिषो, Old-H. दीन्हा and दीना, which confirms this derivation. Similarly, *ghelāva* is *ghen lāva*, where *lāva* means "to take," H. लेना. From these two examples, it would appear that the *ghe* of *ghedāva* and *ghelāva* is not connected with *ghenāva*, but is Skr. √ ग्रह्, Pr. नेरह "to take."

Strange perversions of meaning occur, as might be expected, thus *chalāvāva*, Skr. √ चक्ष, H. चक्षना, should mean "to cause to

move," H. चखाना. It means, however, "to beat," thus *jâ, dik kon chalâvela o vudâr*, "Go, see who knocked at the door!" This is singularly close to the Indian languages. We might say in H. *jâ, dekh kon chaldya dvar ko*. The confusion between the two meanings of Skr. √ चर् is apparent here also. In Skr. चर् and चल् mean "to move," and the former, by a natural transition, is used also of cattle grazing. In H. they are kept apart, चखाना meaning "to move," and चरना "to graze." In Gipsy *charâva* "to eat," makes its p.p. *chalo*, the causal *charavâva* is "to lead out cattle to pasture," and a neuter verb *châriovâva* or *chalirovâva* "to be satiated." Again, *chalarâva* "to be satiated with," p.p. *chalaro* "full," "satisfied."

Frequently, as in the Indian languages, a primitive verb is wanting, and its place supplied by a compound, thus they say, *chumi dâva* "to kiss," Skr. √ चुम्, H. चूमना, but the Gipsy is = चूम देना. So, also, *chungâr dâva* "to spit," probably to be referred to Skr. √ चीव्, and connected with H. छीव, M. शीव "sneeze."

Under च् occur words familiar to us in India, as *jangâva* "to know," Skr. √ ज्ञा, H. जानना; *jâva* "to go," Skr. √ या, H. जाना, with its old-Tadbhava p.p. *gelo*, B. जेल, H. गिया, गया; *jangâva* "to awaken," Skr. √ जागृ, H. जगाना, and the neuter *jangâni-ovâva*, H. जागरत होना, जागना; *jivâva* "to live," Skr. √ जीव्, H. जीवना, जीना, p.p. *jivdo*, Skr. जीवित.

Under त् we find *tavâva* "to cook," Skr. तप् p.p. *tavdo*, Skr. तापित, also *tatto* "hot," Pr. तत्त, Skr. तप्त, H. तत्ता. Connected with this probably are *tâp dâva*, *tâv dâva*, "to beat," where Skr. ताप, H. ताव, has passed over from the meaning of heat through that of vexation into that of beating. The neuter is *tabiovâva* or *tapirovâva* "to be burnt," as in *leskeré sheresé tâbiolas shamdân* "at his head burnt a candle." A more modern form with the characteristic *l* of the p.p. in M. G. B. and O. is *tablo* "hot." A derivative is *tabarâva* (a causal) "to cause to burn."

It is apparent, from these examples, which might be indefinitely increased, that the base of Gipsy verbal stems is the Prakrit, in its earlier as well as its more modern forms; that the phases of the Indian verb are also fairly represented; that the practice of using ancillaries is also not unknown; and that thus this wild and wandering race has carried with it, wherever it has gone on the face of the earth, the principles and sentiments of speech formation which it inherits from the land of its birth, the deserts of the Indus and the Chenab.

CHAPTER II.

THE SIMPLE TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 32. CLASSIFICATION OF TENSES.—§ 33. THE SIMPLE PRESENT OR AORIST.—§ 34. THE IMPERATIVE.—§ 35. THE FUTURE IN OLD HINDI AND GUJARATI.—§ 36. TYPE OF THE ACTIVE VERB IN SINDHI AND MARATHI. § 37. SYNOPSIS OF THE SIMPLE TENSES IN ALL SEVEN LANGUAGES.—§ 38. SIMPLE TENSES IN THE GIPSY VERB.

§ 32. THE preceding Chapter has dealt only with the stem, or that part of the verb which remains unchanged throughout all moods and tenses; we have now to consider the processes used to express the various relations which the idea involved in the stem is capable of undergoing.

The tenses of the modern verb fall naturally into three classes or grades, and it is surprising that so patent a fact has not been noticed by any of the grammar-writers. It is impossible to give, as some writers do, a fixed number for the tenses in any of our languages, for the combinations are almost infinite; but a broad, general classification would, one might suppose, have suggested itself to the most mechanical compiler. The grammar-writers, however, including even authors so superior to the general run as Trumpp and Kellogg, have been, for the most part, led away by giving their attention, in the first place, if not exclusively, to the *meanings* of the various tenses. This practice has led them to lose sight of the primary idea as evolved out of the *structure* of each tense. Had the structure been first considered, it would have been easy to discover which of the many conventional senses of a given tense

was its primary and legitimate one, and by adhering to this process, a more simple and natural classification of tenses would have been arrived at.

Kellogg does, indeed, clearly grasp the principles of the structure of the Hindi verb, but he is too metaphysical in his considerations about the meaning of each tense, and has adopted a phraseology which cannot but prove bewildering to the student, and which scientific linguists are not likely to adopt.

In Sindhi Trumpp divides the verb into simple and compound tenses. The simple present is by him called the Potential, though he is well aware of the fact that it is really the old Sanskrit present indicative, and in his philological notes duly recognizes the fact. His classification is sufficient for Sindhi, though it would hardly cover all the tenses in the cognate languages. As usual, he is, in this respect, much in advance of all other grammar-writers on the modern languages. In the Grammars of Gujarati, Marathi, and Oriya, the same distinction between simple and compound tenses is preserved, though in many cases erroneously worked out.

It appears to me, however, that for purposes of comparison between all the languages of this group, a finer distinction still is required, and I would suggest a threefold division, which it will be my business in the following pages to substantiate and describe in detail.

First, there are the simple tenses,—exact modern equivalents of corresponding tenses in the Sanskrit and Prakrit verb, whose form is due to the ordinary processes of phonetic change and development, and in which the old synthetic structure, though very much abraded, is still distinctly traceable.

Secondly, the participial tenses, formed from participles of the Sanskrit verb, used either alone, or with fragments of the Sanskrit substantive verb, worked into and amalgamated with them so as to form in each case one word only. In the latter



case these tenses have a pseudo-synthetical appearance, though the principle on which they are formed is really analytical.

Thirdly, compound tenses, in which the base is a participle with an auxiliary verb added to it, but not incorporated into it, each person of each tense thus consisting of two words in juxtaposition.

A further development of the analytical system produces the large class of verbs with ancillaries, in which the master-stem, so to call it, remains unchanged, and the ancillary does all the work of conjugation. Each of these classes will now be considered in its turn. The present chapter is devoted to the first class, or simple tenses.

It must here also be noted that the seven languages have but one conjugation each, that is to say, that the terminations and methods of forming tenses in use in any one language are applied without variation to every verb in that language. A partial exception may, at first sight, seem to occur in Sindhi and Marathi, in both of which there is one method for conjugating neuter, and another for active verbs. It will be shown, however, that though at first sight the terminations of the neuter verb seem to differ from those of the active, as in M. **मी सुटे** "I escape," *n*, but **मी सोडी** "I set free," *a*, yet in reality the scheme of terminations is one and the same for both, and the difference is due to a process of preparing the root to receive terminations, and to the abrasion of those terminations, in some cases from euphonic causes, and not to the existence of a double system of conjugation.

§ 33. First among the simple tenses comes, in all the languages, the old Sanskrit present indicative, which, in form, preserves clear traces of its origin, though, as in its abraded condition it now no longer indicates with sufficient clearness present time, it has wandered away into all sorts of meanings, and is given by grammarians under all sorts of titles. Con-

sidering the very vague meanings which it now expresses, especially in regard to the note of time, it has seemed to me that the Greek term "aorist" more accurately describes this tense in its modern usage than any other. The fact that it is a present, no matter what additional indefinite meanings may be attached to it, is, however, necessary to be borne in mind, and I think that in modern grammars it should always head the list of tenses, as the simplest and most genuine, and legitimately first in order, of them all. In those languages of this group with which I am personally acquainted, I can assert, from my own experience, that it is far more frequently used in colloquial practice as a present, pure and simple, than our grammar-writers, basing their views too much on the literary aspects of the languages, would have us believe.

The terminations of the aorist in the classical form of each language in the present day are the following. (For the full forms, see the tables at the end of this chapter.)

	SING. 1.	2.	3.	PLUR 1.	2.	3.
Hindi	ऊँ	ए	ए	एँ	ओ	एँ
Panjabi	आँ	ऐ	ए	ये	ओ	अए
Sindhi	आँ	ऐ	ए	ऊँ	ओ	अनि
Gujarati	उँ	ए	ए	इये (ये)	ओ	ए
Marathi	एँ	एस (अस)	ए	ऊँ	आँ	अत्
Oriya	एँ	उ	ए	उँ	अ (०)	अनि
Bengali	इ	इस	ए	इ	अ (०)	एन् (अन्)

The third person singular is the same in all the languages, ending universally in ए. In Oriya poetry it ends in अइ, and this now somewhat antiquated form is still occasionally heard, as in करइ "he does," अटइ "it is." The form in अइ is in use in the rustic dialects of Hindi and Gujarati, as is also the intermediate form ऐ. It seems certain that this universal ए has been formed from अइ, the termination of this person in

Prakrit, and corresponds to the Sanskrit चति. Thus चत्ति becomes चत्तह्, चत्ते, and चत्ते. The rustic Hindi forms चत्तहि, चत्तय, are, I think, to be explained by the Prakrit process of inserting च and ह् to fill a hiatus; thus चत्ति becomes चत्तहि and चत्तयि. In the hill dialects of Kumaon and Garhwâl the final vowel is lost, and they say चत्त for चत्ते. The same takes place in Nepali.

The third person plural similarly points to the same person in the Sanskrit present. Oriya has here preserved the termination unaltered, as करन्ति "they do," मारन्ति "they beat," though in common conversation there is a tendency to drop the final *i*, and to say *karant*, *mārant*. P. S. and B. have lost the त्, and with it P. and B. have rejected the vowel also, which Sindhi retains. Hindi has softened the nasal consonant to *anunāsika*, and Gujarati has rejected the nasal altogether, so that the 3 plural is the same in form as 3 singular. This also is the case in the dialects of Hindi spoken in Rajputana, which have मारि "they strike," where classical H. has मारिँ. After the rejection of the त्, which is a phonetically anomalous, though widely used process, the remaining form would be चन्ति, as मारन्ति, closely approximate to which is Garhwâli मारन. The Braj form मारि is deducible also from मारन्ति, through an intermediate मारंह and मारह. The last-named form is still in use in the Eastern Hindi area, and has in Bhojpurî modulated into मारी; while the type मरंह is preserved in the Oudh and Riwa form मारंह, where च has been substituted for ह्, and an inorganic second *anunāsika* added, concerning which there will be more to say presently.

Marathi stands alone in preserving the *t* of the Sanskrit *anti*. In old Marathi the final vowel is preserved and lengthened, as चठती "they rise;" in the modern language चठत. In the Konkani dialect¹ all three persons of the plural are said to end

¹ Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Goa, 1859), p. 74.

in *ti*. Thus in the Portuguese method of transliteration, which is not very accurate, the words are thus written, *amī assati* "we are," *tumī assati* "ye are," *te assati* "they are." We should probably write असति=classical M. असत. The author tells us, however, that one may also say *amī assaū* "we are," which is classical M. first person plural आम्ही असूं, though in Konkani it may be used for all three persons of the plural.

The second person singular ends in ए in H. and G., and is from Skr. अस्मि by elision of स्, thus चस्मि, चस्मिहि, चस्मर, चस्मि (Braj), चस्मे. In B. it formerly ended in अस्मि, but the final vowel has been rejected, and the *a* weakened to *i*, thus देखिस "thou seest;" this form has been excluded from literature, but is extremely common in speech. In M. also the स् has persisted, as सुटेस "thou dost get free," where the *e* is apparently due to the epenthesis of the final *i* of an earlier सुटसि. The *i* may, however, be dropped altogether, without leaving any trace, and one may say सुटस. P. and S. take anunāsika, as करे "thou doest," which is perhaps due to the influence of the ह, which has disappeared. The termination रस is often heard among the lower classes in the Hindi area, but always in a past sense, and extended to all persons, as कहिस "he did," कहिस "he said" (also I or thou). The O. termination उ for this person is abnormal, and I am at a loss to account for it.

The second person plural in all but M. ends in *o*, for though B. and O. write अ, they pronounce *ō*, and when emphasis is used, *ō̄*. There is no difficulty in affiliating this termination to the corresponding Skr. 2 plural in *tha*, through Pr. *dha* and *ha*, thus चसह "ye go," where, by elision of *h* and conflation of the two vowels, we should get चसअ and चसा. The final *ā* has been lengthened to *o*, as in the plural of nouns. Marathi also forms this person on the analogy of its noun, in which the final anuswāra is typical of the plural, so that we get चसा. The process, however, is quite modern, for in the mediæval poets the second person plural ends in *ā* without anuswāra.

There is some obscurity about the first person in both numbers. In H. and G. the singular ends in **ऊँ** (उँ), while the plural ends in **हूँ** (हूँ); but in S. M. and O. it is the plural which ends in **ऊँ**, while **हूँ** is in M. and O. the termination of the singular. Now if we look to the earlier forms, it would seem more natural to derive **बहूँ** from **बहामि**, where the presence of the final **हूँ** accounts easily for the **हूँ**, and so the plural **बहामः** with its Prakrit representative **बहामु** would regularly result in **ऊँ**. Moreover, in many dialects even of Hindi, the plural is still **बहाउँ** and **बहौँ**, **बहूँ**, **बहौँ**. In the Rajputana dialects it is **बहौँ**, which agrees with the singular of modern P. and S. For five of the languages Skr. **बहामि** softened to **बहाहूँ** would become **बहाहूँ**, whence M. and O. **बहूँ** "I go," and further shortened, B. **बाहि** *id.*, while the rejection of final **हूँ** gives P. **बहौँ**, S. **हहौँ** "I go." The singular, therefore, in these five is easily understood. So also is the plural, for Skr. **बहामः**, Pr. **बहामु**, would become **बहाउँ** and **बहाहूँ**, whence dialectic H. **बहौँ** (Rajputana), **बहूँ**, **बहौँ**, **बहौँ** (in the Himalayan dialects), S. **हहूँ**, M. *id.*, G. **बहूँ**. But how are we to account for the singular and plural in H. and G.? It seems as if an inversion of the two persons had taken place. It is probable enough that a form originally plural should have become singular, because natives universally speak of themselves as "we" even when only one person is speaking. In this way the plural form may have passed over into a singular. And this tendency would be further developed by the fact that in H. and G. the languages which make the singular end in *un*, the pronoun of the first person was, in mediæval times, and dialectically still is, **हौँ**, so that it would be natural to say **हौँ करौँ** "I do," on account of the identity of sound. In the other languages this pronoun has dropped out of use (see Vol. II. p. 302). Even if this conjecture be disapproved, and if it be thought that the singular **करौँ** is derived from Pr. **करामि** by loss of the final *i* and softening of the *m* into anuswāra, we are still as far as ever from the

origin of the plural in *en*. I think that this might perhaps be accounted for by the form of the third person plural having passed over into the first. That forms belonging to one person or case do often get extended to other persons or cases, is generally admitted. In the Riwa dialect of H. the 1 pl. ends in *n*, as *मारन* "we strike," which seems to be connected with the 3 pl. of P. S. and B., and in most of the dialects the 1 pl. is identical with 3 pl. Now the 3 pl. has a right to an *i*, coming as it does from a Skr. *-anti*, and the presence of the *n* in the Riwa, and other eastern Hindi dialects, points to the same source. The inorganic anuswâra in poetic Hindi, as *मारहि* "they strike," and dialectic forms, seems to have arisen from a feeling that final anuswâra was the proper type of plurality, and thus depends upon a false analogy with the plural of nouns. The widespread Bhojpuri dialect has *मारी* both for 1 pl. and 3 pl., where the ending retains the nasal and the *i*, though the latter is lengthened. We may, however, also suppose that *करें* 1 pl., "we do," is really the singular, and that the real plural having been used for a singular, the real singular became a plural. For though a native is fond of speaking of himself individually as "we," yet the consciousness of only one person being referred to might lead him to use the singular verb, just as the Muhammadans in Orissa, in their corrupt Urdu, say *ham karûngâ* "I will do," literally "nos faciam," a plural pronoun with a singular verb. So, also, the French peasant says "je faisons," "j'avons;" and the English one "we goes," "he do," "they says."

The above remarks leave this difficult point still far from elucidation. It is surprising that none of the grammarians have observed the existence of the difficulty, or offered any hints towards its solution. It is further complicated by the fact that P. and G. insert *i*, *î*, *ay* or *iy* between the stem and the termination of the 1 pl., thus P. *पढये*, *पढिये*, G. *पढीये*, *पढये* "we read." Here it has been suggested that the Apabhraṅga

form in *imo* is the origin, thus **हसिमो** "we laugh" became **हसियो** and **हसिये**, but the change from **म** to **य** is unusual.

On the whole, then, the correspondence of the modern forms of this tense with those of the ancient synthetical present is so close that there can be no doubt as to its derivation therefrom. The terminations, however, have been so much worn away, and in some respects confused with one another, that the tense itself no longer indicates present time with sufficient definiteness, and other forms, which will be treated of hereafter, have been called in to supply the place of a present. This tense has thus become vague, and in modern times is often used in both a future and a past sense. In Marathi grammars it is set down as an "Habitual Past," so that **मी सुटें** means "I used to get loose." In Panjabi it is given as an indefinite future, as **मैं चला** "I would send," or, "I am going to send." It bears this meaning also in Hindi. Still, in literature, it is frequently the present, and nothing else, while in Bengali it is used as an "historic present," namely, that tense which is used by historians when, to give vigour to their style, they speak of past events in the present tense, thus *tatpare katak-guli loka giyâ pâthara sangraha kare, emana samaye ekakhâni barâ pâthara khasiyâ pare*, "After that several people went and collected stones, suddenly a great block of stone slipped and fell;" where *kare* and *pare*, though they must be translated by preterites, are really the old synthetic present. This practice is extremely common in modern Bengali, both in the literary and in the colloquial style.¹

It is unnecessary further to pursue the question of the

¹ In the Gujarati grammars of Leckey and Edalji this tense appears several times over. It is the first present and first habitual past of the Indicative mood, first Aorist of the Subjunctive, first present of the second Potential and the Optative. All this merely means that it is used in the senses which, in a Latin or Greek verb, would be assigned to those tenses; but as the words are the same in all, it would be quite as accurate, and much simpler, to record it once only, and note that it is used in a variety of senses.

various senses in which this tense is now employed, as the point is one which belongs not to the domain of comparative philology, but to the grammar of each individual language. The name "aorist," which I have suggested, has the advantage of being indefinite as to time, and in this way represents fairly the scope of the tense.

§ 34. The next simple tense is the IMPERATIVE, and this, like the aorist, is descended from the imperative of the ancient languages. As might be expected, it closely resembles the aorist or old present, and has the following scheme of endings :

	S. 1.	2.	3.	P. 1.	2.	3.
Hindi	ऊँ	√ ¹	ए	एँ	ओ	एँ
Panjabi		√			ओ	
Sindhi		उ			ओ	
Gujarati		√			ओ	
Marathi	ऊँ	√	ओ	ऊँ	आ	ओत
Oriya	एँ	√	उ	उँ	अ (॰)	अनु
Bengali		√	उक		अ (॰)	उन्

In this scheme only the second persons singular and plural have been given for P. S. and G., because the other persons are the same as the aorist. This is also true of H., the aorist being used as a potential in all these languages, the first and third persons of both numbers can only be considered imperatives in so far as the potential is itself imperative, just as in Latin and other Indo-European languages. So we may say in H. *parhe* "he reads," or, "let him read." It was shown in §§ 4, 5, etc., that even in Pali and the Prakrits the present and imperative had been confounded together, a practice that has paved the way for the modern system.

It is only in M. O. and B. that the third singular has a

¹ This mark means that the 2 sing. is the simple stem, as *kar* "do thou!" *parh* "read thou!"

separate form, which may in all cases be traced back to the Skr. 3 sg. क्तु, Pr. क्त, which in M. becomes क्तो. In M., however, the termination क्त for this tense is also in use. To the same origin may be ascribed the O. क्त and B. क्त, the final क्त of which, however, presents considerable difficulty. It will be discussed along with a similar termination in the future.

The third plural in M. O. and B. is parallel to the singular, and is connected with Skr. क्तु, just as the corresponding person in the aorist is with Skr. क्तन्ति. In O., owing to the influence of the final u, this termination is often written untu, as *karuntu* "let them do," *jāuntu* "let them go."

In all but S. the second singular is the bare verbal stem. In M. a final क्त is heard, and slightly also in B. and O. In the dialect of Northern Gujarat a क्त is sounded after the final consonant, as कर्क "do thou," बोक्क "speak thou," चक्क "go thou."¹ But in the rest this person ends with the final consonant, as *kar* "do," *dekh* "see." In the H. mediæval poets this person often ends in हि, as stated in §§ 4, 5, 7, corresponding to which is a plural in क्त, as

तुम्ह खेड तुम्ह खेड मुय जपि जोध ।

"Seize ye! seize ye! muttering of war."—Chand, Pr. R. xix. 33.

This form is also found in G., and in Old-M. takes the shape of ए, as पावे "find thou!" for पावह, from पावहि, with inorganic anuswāra. Sindhi, which causes all its words to end in a vowel, makes this person end in क्त, which is apparently only a weakening of the final vowel of the stem. The dialectic forms of H. present few noteworthy peculiarities, in some cases the forms which Kellogg gives as imperatives are really other tenses used imperatively. Thus the form मारव "beat ye!" common in the eastern area, is really a future, "ye shall beat." Often, too, in colloquial Hindi, and in Urdu, in giving an order,

¹ Vans Taylor, Grammar, p. 89.

the future is used, as राम को अपने संग लाओगे "You will bring Rām with you," that is, "bring him with you!" So also the infinitive, as यह सब काम आजही करना "Do all this work to-day," literally, "(Take care) to do," इस रिष को चुका दे तब चली जाना "Pay this debt, and then go away."¹

Most of the seven languages have, in addition to the ordinary imperative, a respectful form used in addressing a superior, or in entreating and asking a favour. This, in Hindi, ends in Sing. ह्ये, Plur. ह्यो. In P. this form is seldom employed, and when used, may be considered as borrowed from H. In the other languages are—

Sindhi	Sing. 2.	ह्ये, एये,	Plur. 2.	ह्यो, एयो.
Gujarati	„	अये,	„	अयो.

In a few stems in H. which end in *e*, ज् is inserted between the stem and the termination, the final vowel being changed to *i*, as ले "take," लीजिये, दे "give," दीजिये; the stem कर "do" is in this case changed to की, making कीजिये "be pleased to do." Sindhi sometimes takes in the singular ह्यु instead of ह्ये, probably on the analogy of the simple imperative, which ends in *u*; and in the plural, instead of ह्यो, the forms ह्या, ह्याह, ह्याह, ह्याह, ह्याह are used when great respect is implied, as वजिया "be pleased to go," सुणियाह "be pleased to hear." Many of the rustic dialects of Hindi have also this form; thus Rajputana ह्ये, ह्यी, ह्यी, or simply ये, as मारियी, मारीये, मार्ये "be pleased to strike."

Vararuchi (vii. 20, 21, 22) teaches that *jja* and *jjā* may be optionally substituted for the affixes of the present and future, also for those of the imperative, in verbs which end in a vowel. In Old-Marathi, accordingly, a form with inserted ज् is found in present, past, and future, as well as imperative, as करियेतो "he does," करियेला "he did," करियेस "he will do," करिये "do

¹ Pincott's Sakuntalā, p. 12, a first-rate text-book in admirable idiomatic Hindi.

thou," in which the junction vowel between the inserted च and the termination has been changed to *e*. As, however, the inserted च is also a type of the passive, this form has occasionally been mistakenly used in a passive sense, as मी मारिजेतो "I am struck." Lassen (p. 357) refers this increment to the Skr. potential, which is confirmed by the Pali forms quoted in § 4, and by the dotted च in S., which usually indicates that a double letter has existed. The च of the Skr., as in पचेयं, is doubled in Pa. नचेयामि, and hardened to च्च in Pr., whence the modern च, with lengthening of the preceding vowel in H., and change of *e* to *a* in G. (cf. G. दक्ष = देख). As Vararuchi, in extending the use of this increment to present and future, is writing of the Maharashtri dialect, it is not surprising that the modern Marathi should show a wider use thereof than the sister idioms, in which the sense of a potential has passed over into that of a respectful imperative, or, as Trumpp well calls it, precative.

To this tense belong the two M. words म्हणजे and पाहिजे. The former is the precative of म्हण (Skr. √ भ्र्) "to speak," and means literally, "be pleased to say;" in modern times it means "that is to say," "i.e.," "videlicet," as चच म्हणजे घोडा "açwa, that is to say, a horse." It has also a future form म्हणजेस, meaning "in that case," as पाऊस पडला म्हणजेस पीक होईस "If rain falls, *then* (or, in that case) there will be a crop." The latter, with a plural पाहिजेत, and a future पाहिजेस, is from पाहणे "to see," literally "please to see," and means "it ought," as हे काम जेणे पाहिजे "this work *ought* to be done," literally "please to see (that) this work is done;" "see" being used in M., as in English, in the sense of "seeing to," "providing for," "taking care for."¹

Similar to these is the H. चाहिये, lit. "please to wish," but

¹ See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary under these words; also Godbol's Marathi Grammar, p. 92.

meaning "ought," and, like पाहिजे in M., used with the past participle, as यह काम किया चाहिये "this work *ought* to be done." Colloquially, however, and even among good writers, चाहिये is often, like other ancillary verbs, constructed with the oblique form of the infinitive, and it would not be absolutely incorrect to say करने चाहिये. In fact, the construction both in M. and H. with the past participle remounts to a period when the participial character of this form was not yet forgotten. Since, however, the past participle in H. has come to be used simply as a preterite, this construction has lost its significance. Not so in M., where, as will be seen hereafter, the distinction between the preterite and participle still survives.

Gujarati has an analogous formation in the word जोरये "it is wanted," French "il faut," Italian "bisogna." It is from the verb जोतुं "to see," and is used with a dative of the subject, as मने बीजो वर जोरये नहीं "I want no other blessing," like Latin "mihi necesse est, oportet, decet," etc. It is conjugated throughout the full range of tenses, as सफर मां जे काइ जोरतुं हतुं "Whatever *was* required for the voyage," जो मारे हरख जोरये तो "Should I require venison, then . . ."

§ 35. A simple future derived from the old synthetical tense exists only in Gujarati and in Old-Hindi. The tense is as follows, taking the stem *kar* "do," as a type :

	SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
Gujarati	करीश	करये	करये	करिशुं	करयो	करये.
Old-H.	करिहीं	करिहे	करिहे	करिहें	करिही	करिहें.

Kellogg (Gr. p. 238) gives the following interesting transitional type from eastern Rajputana :—

	SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
	करखूं	करसी	मरसो	करखां	करखो	करसी.
	करखूं					

There are, in fact, four types of the future in the modern languages, having for their characteristics respectively the letters स, न, ख, and ब. The *sa* type has a variant *ha*. The *ga*, *la*, and *ba* types belong to the class of participial tenses, and will be discussed under that head. The *sa* type, with its variant *ha*, found in G. and Old-H., with dialectic variations in several of the modern rustic dialects of H., is the only one which is directly derived from the corresponding Sanskrit and Prakrit tense. It is the Sanskrit future in *ishya*, as in *karishyāmi*, which, as already pointed out in § 4, becomes in Pali *karissāmi*, and retains that form in the higher Prakrits. The transition from this to the eastern Rajput करसू seems to rest upon the confusion between the first persons of the singular and plural already noticed in H.; for Rajp. करसाँ, though now a plural, represents करिस्सामि better than does करसूँ, which latter leads to Pr. plural करिस्सामु, just as does G. करिशुं. The G. 1 sing. करीश has rejected all terminations, and lengthened the preceding vowel; this form is also, in the general confusion, due to the corruption of personal affixes, used for the 2 sing. The second and third persons of both numbers may be traced back to the corresponding persons of the Prakrit just as in the aorist, and the loss of the *i* in the second syllable is probably due to the neglect of vowels in G., where the first plural even is written in three ways, as करीशुं, करिशुं, or करशुं. The orthography of G. is, it will be remembered, still unfixed.

In most of the Prakrits the future has undergone a further weakening, by which the स्स of the higher types has been resolved into ह, so that we get such forms as गमिहिति side by side with गमिस्सति. It is from this weakened form that the Hindi type is derived. Thus 3 sing. करिहे represents Pr. करिहद् from करिहति; 3 pl. करिहे = करिहति, and so on. Here also come in the old Purbi forms करिहहि, करिबहि, which are transitional from Pr. to Old-H. In poems in the Braj dialect occur such forms as करीहीं, करिहे, where the *ai* has crept into

the second syllable, probably from the analogy of the *ga* type *karai-gā*. The commonest form is that given above, with short *i* in the second syllable. This is Chand's ordinary future, as

हम सावंत सब जुझिहि ॥
राज चंदेज न जाय ॥

"We nobles all *will fight*,
(That) the kingdom of the Chandel may not perish."
—Pr. R. xxi. 94.

के खिर तुमहि समप्पिहीं ॥
के खिर धरिहीं ह्य ॥

"Either I *will yield* my head to thee,
Or I *will put* the umbrella on my head."—Pr. R. i. 279.
(*i.e.* I will either die or conquer.)

कनकज झूटि रिधि सब हरिहीं ॥
पाहि जुध मोहीवे करिहीं ॥

"Having plundered Kanauj, I *will carry off* all your riches,
After that, I *will fight* at Mahoba."—*ib.* xxi. 87.

It is also the ordinary future throughout Tulsī Das's *Ramayan*, as

सबहि भाति पिच सेवा करिहीं ॥
मारन अनित सकल अम हरिहीं ॥

"In every manner I *will serve* my beloved,
I *will take away* all the fatigue of the journey."
—Ay-k. 399.

Also universally in Kabir, as

जा जानो कब मारिहे क्या घर क्या परदेस ॥

"Ye know not when he (*i.e.* death) *will strike*, whether at home or abroad."—*Ram.* xix. 5.

बझरि न ऐसी पेही घाना ॥

"You *will never find* such a place again.—*ib.* xliii. 2.

where पेही = पारही 2 pl. fut. of पाना "to find."

When the *ga* future, which is now the ordinary type in Hindi, arose, cannot be clearly defined. It is not in use in the

mediaeval poets, and, as has been shown above, it has not succeeded in expelling the old synthetical future from the rustic dialects.

§ 36. In M. and S. the terminations of the old present or aorist, and those of the imperative in S., seem at first sight to differ in the active from those in the neuter verb, and some remarks are necessary in explanation of this peculiarity. The neuter सुटणे "to get loose," and the active सोडणे "to set free," are thus conjugated in the present in M.

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
सुटे	सुटेस (०टस)	सुटे	सुटूं	सुटा	सुटात.
सोडी	सोडीस	सोडी	सोडूं	सोडा	सोडीत.

Similarly in S. the neuter हल्यु "to go," and the active हल्यु "to give up," conjugate the present thus:—

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
हला	हले	हले	हलूं	हलो	हलनि.
हलिया	हलिं	हले	हलिं	हलिं	हलीनि.
	हले				हलिनि.
	हली				

On comparing these two sets of forms, it will be seen that the active differs from the neuter by insertion of *ई* in M., and of *इ* in S. This inserted vowel has, however, disappeared in some persons, as in M. first and second plural, and in S. third singular, and, optionally, also second singular and third plural. Some writers on Marathi seek to derive the forms of the neuter from those of the Skr. *Ātmanepada*, and the forms of the active from those of the *Parasmaipada*. There is, however, a fatal objection to this argument in the fact that the Skr. *Ātmanepada* had died out of use so early as the Prakrits, and that the neuter forms of M. agree closely with the forms in use in the other languages, where there is nothing to lead us to look for

an origin from the *Ātmanepada*, inasmuch as the known changes of the *Parasmaipada* afford a satisfactory explanation, and in those languages the type which in M. is restricted to neuter verbs is used for both neuter and active. A more probable supposition is that which would derive the forms of the active in M. and S. from the Skr. causal, the characteristic *aya* having been changed in Pr. to *e*, and still further shortened in S. to *i*, while in M. the personal terminations have been blended with the *य* of *aya* into a long vowel; thus M. सोडी presupposes an earlier form सोड्यर् or सोडे, for it must be noted that the termination ए resulting from Skr. षति, Pr. षर्, has been dropped in this word. So in the first sing. S. हृदिषा represents an older ह्रीटयामि, and is thus earlier in type than M. सोडो for सोडिरे, through सोड्यार्. The second singular in which the personal termination is retained also supports this view, for in it the characteristic ई holds the same place in the word as the characteristic *aya* of the Sanskrit causal, namely, *between* the stem and the termination: so it does in Sindhi in all the persons. The value of the comparative method is shown in cases like this where a student, who is guided by the facts of one language only, is liable to be misled, owing to want of the light supplied by the sister languages.

It is only in S. that the imperative differs in the active from that in the neuter. According to strict rule, the second singular of neuter verbs ends in *u*, as मरयु "to die," imperative मरु "die thou;" while in active verbs it ends in *र्*, as पालयु "to cherish," imperative पालि "cherish thou." Trumpp, however, gives a long list of active verbs whose imperative ends in *u*, while there are others which take both terminations. It is impossible, at present, satisfactorily to account for this irregularity, but it seems probable that active verbs in S. derived from actives in Sanskrit form the imperative in *u*, while those which are derived from S. causals form it in *र्*. Should this suggestion be confirmed by further research, the *र्* would

appear to be the representative of the Skr. *aya* of the causal. Thus while Skr. मर produces S. मर, Skr. पासय produces S. पासि, shortened from पासे (Pr. पासेहि). The second plural of neuters ends in *o*, as हयो "go ye!" while that of actives ends in *io* or *yo*, as छडियो or छड्यो. The earlier form in *iho* (Pr. इऊ) is also in use as छडिहो.

In the following list there is no reason why the imperative should not end in *u*, notwithstanding the rule, for the words are derived from simple Sanskrit active verbs of the Bhû conjugation, or, if in Sanskrit of other conjugations, yet reduced to the Bhû type in Prakrit.

पठ्ठु "to read," imp.	पठ्ठु	Skr. √ पठ्	imp. पठ्.
पससु "see," "	पसु	" पश्नति	" पस.
पिहसु "grind," "	पिऊ	" √ पिष्	" पिखि, but Pr. पीस (Hem. iv. 185).
चरसु "graze," "	चर	" √ चर्	" चर.
रखसु "keep," "	रखु	" √ रक्ष्	" रक्ष.
कहसु "say," "	कऊ	" √ कश्	" कवय, but Pr. कह (Hem. iv. 2).

आखसु "to inform," makes आसु and आखि, it is from Skr. आख्या, imperative आखाहि, from which comes regularly आखि, through a form आखहि, but this verb may be also neuter, as in "tell! tell!" and would thus, by the masses, be formed like neuters, and have आसु. धंक्सु "to blow" (with bellows), makes धंक् and धंक्वि, it is from Skr. ध्मा, imp. धम, whence regularly धंक्. Here the form धंक्वि, the ordinary form for actives, may have been introduced from forgetfulness of the special reasons for that ending in *u*. As a general result, it may be suggested that each of these peculiar verbs requires to be traced back to its origin, in which case there will generally be found some special reason for the divergence from the normal type.

§ 38. The simple tenses in the Gipsy verb, as given by Paspati and Miklosich, differ very widely from the Indian type, and it is difficult to grasp their forms, so much have contraction and a slurring habit of pronunciation weakened the original terminations. The present among the Rumelian gipsies has the following endings: S. 1. *a*, 2. *sa*, *s*, 3. *l*; Pl. 1. *sa*, *s*, 2. *na*, *n*, 3. *na*, *n*. Thus from *keráva* "to do"—

Sing. 1. <i>keráva</i> , or <i>keráv</i> .	Pl. 1. <i>kerása</i> , or <i>kerás</i> .
2. <i>kerása</i> „ <i>kerás</i> .	2. <i>keréna</i> „ <i>kerén</i> .
3. <i>keréla</i> „ <i>kerel</i> .	3. <i>kerena</i> „ <i>kerén</i> .

Of the two forms, those ending with *a* are the fuller and more correct forms, and those ending in the consonant which precedes the *a* are used in ordinary conversation. The S. 2 sounds also *keresa*, *kerés*. Here we distinguish two junction-vowels *á* and *e*, as *ker-á-sa*, *ker-é-sa*, a peculiarity which recalls the practice in Prakrit by which the *e* originally proper to the tenth conjugation is often used in verbs of the Bhû and other types, and as often omitted in causals; so we have *पुहामि* and *पुहेमि*, *रोचामि* and *रोचेमि*, *हारह* and *हारेह*, *करह* and *करेह*. But with regard to the terminations, there is much difficulty; we recognize, indeed, the termination *ami* of S. 1. in Paspati's *áva*, or *av*, and *asi* in his *ása*, or *ás*. So also *anti*, Pr. *enti*, reappears in *ena* or *en*. The *ela*, *el* of S. 3. may stand to *ati* in the same relation as the *ila* of O. and M. p.p.p. does to Skr. *ita*; but if so, it is a strange confirmation, and from an unexpected quarter, of what is as yet little more than an unsupported hypothesis. In the P. 2. the *ena*, *en* may have been borrowed from P. 3, for we have seen similar cases in the other languages, but the P. 1, with its ending in *s*, is entirely inexplicable.

The Syrian gipsies have retained a fuller form of the S. 1, as *jámi* "I go," *ávami* "I come," *stámi* "I am," and the following almost pure Prakrit words, *bihemi* "I fear," *chinemi* "I cut,"

dāmi, demi "I give," *jānami, jānemi* "I know," *enemi* "I bring" (from दायी), *kinimi* "I buy" (की), and others (Miklos. ii. 4).

The imperative is the only other simple tense, it has the forms *ker* "do thou," *kerén*, do ye," *me kerel* "let him do," *me keren* "let them do." The meaning and origin of this prefix *me* is not explained by Paspati, and I am not aware of anything in the Indian languages with which it can be connected. It is probably a construction borrowed from modern Greek, or Turkish, or some of the languages spoken in or near Rumelia. The imperative is, in its general form, precisely analogous to the languages of our group, but there is nothing specially noteworthy about it.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

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§ 39. So widely has the modern verb diverged from its parent, that the simple tenses, in which there still remain traces of the ancient synthetic structure, are, as we have just seen, extremely few. Far more numerous in all the languages are those tenses which are formed by the aid of a participle derived directly from the Prakrit. These tenses may be divided into two classes, (1) consisting either of a participle alone, as in H. *chaltā* "he moves," which is really "moving (he is)," or of a participle, to which are attached much-worn fragments of the old Sanskrit substantive verb, as in M. *hasatos* "thou laughest," which is really "laughing thou art," Pr. *hasanto 'si* (whether the remnant of the substantive verb still appear, or whether it have entirely dropped out, in either case the principle underlying the formation is the same, and words

like H. *chaltā*, and M. *hasatos*, belong, therefore, to the same category) : (2) consisting of a participle, to which is subjoined a substantive verb, the two words standing separate, but forming one phrase, as in H. *dekhtā hai* "he sees," i.e. "he is seeing," M. *liht āhe* "he is writing."

Between these two classes there is this fundamental difference, that in the former the traces of the substantive verb which do exist are still in the Prakrit stage of development, whereas in the latter the substantive verb, which is combined with the participle, is not in the Prakrit shape, but is a later form, evolved by the languages out of the Prakrit.

The first of these two classes I propose to call "participial tenses," and they will be treated of in this chapter; the second I shall call, following the example of the grammarians, "compound tenses," and shall reserve their discussion for another chapter.

The participle used in the formation of tenses may be traced back to the Prakrit equivalents of the following Sanskrit participles.

1. The present Active (Parasmai.), as in पचन् *m.*, पचन्ती *f.*, पचत् *n.*
2. The past Passive (with inserted इ), as in कृतस् *m.*, कृता *f.*, कृतं *n.* (Pr. करिषी etc.).
3. The future participle Passive or verbal adjective, as in दातव्यस् *m.*, •तव्या *f.*, •तव्यं *n.*

To these must be added certain much abraded forms of special past participles, which are used in a peculiar way in three of the languages, as will be shown hereafter, and it must be borne in mind that, especially in the case of the past participle passive (noted as p.p.p.), it is the Prakrit forms that are to be looked to, rather than those which occur in classical Sanskrit. The classical language does not prefer to insert the intermediate इ in the p.p.p., but the popular languages do prefer it to a very great extent, so much so, that it has almost

become the rule to insert it, and the cases where it is omitted may be classed as exceptions.

§ 40. The participle of the present active in Pali and the Prakrit takes the forms of the *a*-stem of nouns, and retains the nasal throughout; thus पचतो *m.*, पचती *f.*, पचन्तं *n.* The variations introduced by the conjugational peculiarities of the Sanskrit verb are neglected, and all roots take this one form.

Sindhi reproduces this universal Prakrit form with softening of त into द, and declines it for gender and number thus (*hal* "go")—

Sing. हचंदो *m.*, हचंदी *f.* Pl. हचंदा *m.*, हचंदिजे *f.*, "going."

In active verbs, with which must be reckoned causals, the characteristic *i* appears (§ 36), but here lengthened to *ī*, as (*bhar* "fill")—

Sing. भरिंदो *m.*, भरिंदी *f.* Pl. भरिंदा *m.*, भरिंदिजे *f.* "filling."

There are some minor exceptions and contractions which may be learnt from the special grammar of the language, but the forms given above are the regular types.

Panjabi retains the nasal in verbs ending in vowels, as *jā* "go," चांदा "going," हो "be," उंदा "being," सेवु "serve," सेचंदा "serving." In some of the rustic dialects the nasal is retained also after stems ending in a consonant, thus I have heard मारंदा or मारिंदा "beating." In the classical dialect, however, the nasal is omitted after a consonant, as singular मारदा *m.*, मारदी *f.*; plural मारदे *m.*, मारदीयां *f.* Not unfrequently the द is dropped, and we hear जाना, जना for चांदा, उंदा.

Hindi has two sets of forms; one indeclinable originally ended in *ant*, and still exists in several rustic dialects with the termination *at*. Chand inserts or omits the nasal at pleasure, to suit his metre, as चरण तीन भज्यंत "possessing three feet"

(Pr. R. i. 61); **श्रवण सुनत होइ भंज** । “the ear *hearing*, it is broken” (*ib.* i. 159); **रजंत** “shining,” **सजंत** “arraying,” **सुभंत** “being beautiful,” **कटंत** “being cut,” etc. (*ib.* vi. 18), but **बजत** “playing (music),” **चढत** “mounting (a horse)” (xix. 3). Tulsī Das chiefly uses the latter form, as **जात** “going” (Rām. S.-k. 7); **गुंजत** “humming” (*ib.* 9); **छावत** “meditating,” **पावत** “finding,” **भावत** “being pleased,” **गावत** “singing” (all in Ay.-k. 1); and this is also common in most mediæval poets, thus Bihari Lal **धरत** “placing” (Sat. 6), **परत** (पडत) “falling” (*ib.*), **सोहत** “being beautiful,” **दसत** “appearing,” **चहियत** “looking” (*ib.* 7, 9, etc.). Kabir **जियत** “living” (Rām. 30, 5); **बंधत** “being bound” (*ib.* 31, 3). It survives in all the dialects of the eastern Hindi area, in Oudh, Riwa, and Bhojpur, and even in the Gangetic Doab.

The other form ends in a vowel, and is in use in classical Hindi, as sing. **मारता** *m.*, **मारती** *f.*; pl. **मारते** *m.*, **मारती** *f.* “beating.” In the Braj dialect it takes the forms **मारतु** *m.*, **मारति** *f.*; pl. **मारत** *m. f.* The Garhwali dialect preserves the older form, as **मारनी**, but has also, as have the Rajputana dialects, **मारती**. Kellogg gives also a Kumaon form **मारजू**, which probably arises from **मारनी**, just as Panjabi **जाना** from **जांदा**.

It would seem that, to account for the co-existence of these two forms, one ending in a consonant, and the other in *ā* (=o), we must have recourse to Hoernle’s theory of the *ka-* affix, and derive **करंत**, **करत** from Pr. **करनी**, while we derive **करंता**, **करता** from a Pr. **करंतकी**. The *ka-* theory, however, thus begins to assume rather formidable dimensions, and will, ere long, require a whole treatise to itself.

Gujarati has also two forms, one indeclinable ending in **तां**, as **छोडतां** “loosing,” the other declinable, as sing. **छोडतो** *m.*, **ती** *f.*, **तुं** *n.*; pl. **छोडता** *m.*, **ती** *f.*, **तां** *n.* The terminations are those of the adjective in this language (Vol. II. p. 150). There is also a form of the indeclinable participle in **ते**, as **होइते**, which,

like the Bangali, is apparently the locative singular, while that in *ता* has the ending of the old nom, pl. neuter, though, in sense, it approaches more to the locative, as *मारा बंधनें होइता* *मारा दात भागा* "If in losing my bonds thy teeth should break."¹ Vans Taylor, however, distinguishes two separate words with this ending, one of which he would derive from the locative singular of Sanskrit feminines, as *बन्धायाम्*, the other he would derive from the Skr. infin., as *कर्तुं*. The first form he assumes to have been the origin of such phrases as *मारे आवता* "on my coming," the second, of such as *करतां शिक्षवेजे* "he teaches to do." This, however, is very doubtful.²

Two forms are also observable in Marathi, or rather two sets of forms. The indeclinable ends in *त्*, *ता*, and *ताना*, as *सुटत्*, *सुटता*, *सुटताना*. The first of these agrees with Hindi, the second with Gujarati, and the third is merely the second with an enclitic particle *ना* added for emphasis. In active verbs the characteristic *t* appears, as *सोडीत*, *सोडीता*, *सोडीताना* "loosing." There is also a declinable form, which, however, is not now used as a participle, but appears in the third person of the present tense, thus sing. *सुटता m.*, *सुटती f.*, *सुटते n.*; pl. *सुटते m.*, *सुटत्या f.*, *सुटती n.*

Oriya has only one form for the present participle. It is indeclinable, ending in *उ* or *उ*, as *देखु*, *देखु* "seeing." Of these two forms, that with the nasal is the older, though now less used, and probably comes from the Pr. neuter in *न्त*, though the intermediate steps are not easily traced.

Even in the earliest writings in Bengali there is no regular present participle, but a form derived from the locative of the Prakrit is in use. It ends in *इते*, as *देखिते*, and is now used as an infinitive, meaning "to see." Literally, it means "in seeing," and is used in this sense by Bidyapati, and the older poets. Thus *केश जिह्वाहिते बहे जल धारा*। "In wringing (or

¹ Leckey, Grammar, p. 179.

² Grammar, p. 113.

from wringing) her hair there flows a stream of water" (Pr. K.-S. 13, 15); **हेराहते हृदये हाणख पांचवान ।** "On seeing (her), love smote him in the heart" (*ib.* 15, 7). Even here, however, it becomes almost an infinitive, as **आहते पेशुनु नाहर् जोरी ।** "I saw the fair one go to bathe (*i.e.* in going, or while going)" (*ib.* 13, 13); **कानु हेराहते एवे भेष परमाद ।** "In seeing (or to see) Kánh, there has been now delight" (*ib.* 20, 10). So **भुनाहते भुनिते पाहव समाचार** "By causing to hear, and by hearing, I shall obtain news" (Bidya S. 247).

§ 41. Having thus given the forms of the present participle, we next proceed to exhibit the tenses constructed therefrom, either with or without the addition of fragments of the old substantive verb, and it will be seen that there is great variety in the practice of the respective languages, though all the variations are sufficiently alike to justify their being classed generally as structurally present tenses. In some cases the sense of present time is more clear and definite than that afforded by the old present of the synthetic system, or, as we now call it, the aorist, while in others it has wandered away in different directions.

Sindhi,¹ to begin with, makes this participle into a future. In the third person of both numbers the participle is used without any addition, thus

Sing. **हचंदो** *m.*, **हचंदो** *f.* Pl. **हचंदा** *m.*, **हचंदिऊ** *f.* "he, she, etc., will go."

The second person, however, retains traces of the substantive verb **अस्** "to be," though much abraded and indistinct, it runs

Sing. **हचंदें** *m.*, **हचंदिचं** *f.* Pl. **हचंदउ** *m.*, **हचंदिऊ** *f.* "thou, ye, etc., will go."

The singular masculine ends in **हे**, just as does the corre-

¹ This section follows, for the most part, Trumpp, pp. 289, 291, etc.

sponding person of the aorist, and we may resolve it thus, *halando asi* = *haland' asi* = *haland' ai* = *halandē*. The anuswāra is here, probably, as in the aorist, put in to fill up the hiatus caused by loss of *s*, and first stood over the *a* of *ai*; when these two syllables were contracted into one, it took its place over that one. In the singular feminine we start from *halandt asi*, where the final long *t* of the participle is shortened, and *asi* = *ai* = *ē*, giving *halandiē*, a form still in use, though Trumpp gives as the classical type the still further contracted *halandiā*. The plural masculine arises from *halandt stha*, where *stha* has become *tha*, and then *ha*; the *h* being dropped, we get *halandta* = *halando*, subsequently resolved into its present form *halandaū*. The plural feminine is merely the feminine of the participle, there is no trace of the substantive verb.

In the same way may be explained the first person of both numbers.

Sing. हलंदुसि *m.*, हलंदिसि *f.* Pl. हलंदासी *m.*, हलंदिसी *f.*

Here, again, we meet an instance of the curious change of *स* into *स*, which we observed in the Panjabi and Sindhi pronouns of the first person plural *ससी* and *ससा* (Vol. II. p. 308). Thus *halando asmi* becomes *halando asi*, then *halandu 'si*, the final *o* being shortened to *u*. In the feminine, however, the elision of the *a* of *asmi* cannot take place by the old laws of Sandhi; instead, the *t* of the participle changes to its semivowel, producing *halandy asi*, which the Sindhians in the present day write either as above, or हलंदसि, or even हलंदियसि. As to the termination *सी* of the plural, I am disposed to regard it as formed by analogy from a singular *सि*, rather than, with Trumpp, as a derivative of Skr. *साः*, which, if the *म* be rejected, would yield *सो* or *सु*, but not, according to any known processes, *सी*.

§ 42. Closely analogous to the Sindhi future is the definite present in Marathi. In this tense, as in the S. future, the third

person preserves no trace of the substantive verb, and in this respect curiously resembles the periphrastic future of Sanskrit (*bodhitāsmi, bodhitāsi, but bodhitā*).

The participial form which enters into the composition of this tense is, apparently, not used alone in a participial sense. क्करितो or क्करिता would always imply "he does," never "doing." For the purely participial sense the indeclinable participles given in the last section are used.

There is much more difficulty in tracing out the Marathi persons than those of Sindhi, not only because the remains of the substantive verb are more abraded, but because in the second and third persons there are two sets of terminations, one of which is used when the sense is that of the indicative present, the other when it is conditional.

Beginning with the third person, we have these forms (*sut* "escape") :

Indicative. Sing. सुटतो *m.*, ती *f.*, ते *n.* Pl. सुटतात *m., f., n.*, "he, she, etc., escapes."

Conditional. Sing. सुटता *m.*, ती *f.*, ते *n.* Pl. सुटते *m., f., ती n.*, "were he, etc., to escape."

Here the indicative strikes us at once as the older type; adjectives do not now in M. end in *o* in the masculine singular, though they did so in Maharashtri Prakrit; the *to* of the indicative therefore preserves the earlier form. So also in the plural there is but one form for all three persons which contains the verb *santi*, in Old-M. changed to *ātī*, just as in the third plural of the aorist, but with disregard of the varying terminations for gender of the modern participle. The conditional, on the other hand, is simply the modern participle, with its full range of endings for number and gender.

The second person runs thus :

Indicative. Sing. सुटतोस *m.*, तीस *f.*, तेस *n.* Pl. सुटतां *m., f., n.*

Conditional. Sing. सुटतास *m.*, तीस *f.*, तेस *n.*, Pl. सुटती *m., f., n.*

Again, in the indicative, the older ending in *o*, *suṭatos* = *suṭato* 'si (*asi*); while in the conditional, *suṭatās* = *suṭatā asi*, with the modern ending in *ā*. The plural, however, is the same in both, and agrees in termination with the aorist. The first person is the same in both indicative and conditional, and is—

Sing. सुटतो *m.*, ते^{f.}, तो *n.* Pl. सुटतो *m. f. n.*

Final anuswāra here represents probably Pr. sing. *amhi*, pl. *amho*; but the *sandhi* is irregular, as *f. suṭatē* = *suṭatā amhi*; the variant *suṭatyē*, used in the Konkan, is more regular for *suṭaty amhi*. The pl. *suṭatō* = *suṭatā amho*, where, again, the steps of transition to *suṭatō* are difficult to work out.

§ 43. A similar use of the participle, in a conditional sense, occurs in Bengali and Oriya. In the former, the present tense is made up by using an auxiliary, and it will come under discussion in the next chapter, but the conditional has traces of the old Pr. form of the verb, and therefore belongs to this place. The tense is (*dekh* "see")—

Sing. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखितिस, 3. देखित. Pl. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखिता, 3. देखितेन.

The participle here has lost its terminations for gender, as the Bengali adjective has (Vol. II. p. 147): *dekhitām* therefore = *dekhita asmi* = *dekhita amhi* in the sing., and *dekhita amhu* in the pl., lit. "seeing I am;" *dekhitis* = *dekhita asi*, where, on the analogy of the aorist, the *i* has crept into the penultimate (now ultimate) syllable; *dekhitā* similarly = *dekhita stha*, whence *dekhita tha* = *dekhitaha* = *dekhitā*. So, also, *dekhiten* = *dekhita (s)anti*, with the same treatment of the verb as in the aorist. The third singular is the simple participle.

In Oriya this tense runs thus :

Sing. 1. देखति, 2. देखतु, 3. देखता. Pl. 1. देखतु (तु), 2. देखत, 3. देखते.

In this tense is preserved the older form of the participle Pr. *dekhanto*, O. *dekhantā*, which, as usual, appears unchanged in the third sing., as also the pl. Pr. *dekhante* preserved in the 3 pl. The other persons exhibit only slight modifications of the terminations of the aorist, which are those of the Sanskrit present *asmi*, *asi*, etc.

In B. and O. this tense is used with **अदि (चदि)** "if," prefixed, "if I were to do," etc.; when used alone, it means "I might or should do," and in B. narrative it occasionally appears as an habitual past, "I used to do."

It should also be mentioned that just as the Bengali pandits have banished the old singular of the pronoun and declared it vulgar, so they have branded the singular number of all their tenses as low, and those grammarians who write under pandit influence gravely assure us that "the singular and plural are the same in Bengali verbs, and it is the nominative case before them which determines whether they are singular or plural" (Yates's Gr., ed. Wenger, p. 43). When they come to the real old singular, their agitation is extreme, they are too honest to leave it out, and too fastidious to put it in. So they preface it thus, "If a person speaks with the greatest humility of himself, or with the greatest contempt of another, he employs this form; but it is not found in good composition. We should have been happy to pass it over entirely; but to enable the student to understand what he will *but too often* hear (alas! yes, far too often, in the mouths of ninety-nine out of every hundred persons in Bengal), it seems necessary to give one example" (*ib.* p. 47).

The best Bengali poets had not discovered that these forms of their mother-tongue were low or vulgar down to the beginning of the present century. In a page opened at random in the Mahabarat of Kasiram Das occur रहिब "he remained," बलिब "he said," जिन्नासिब "he asked," दिबाछे "he has given," होरबे "he shall be." Kabi Kankan uses पडिबि "thou

shalt fall," मरिषि "thou diedst," आहिनु "I was;" and Bharat Chandra, दिषि "thou hast done," पानु "I found," and innumerable other forms, which would be classed as vulgar by the purists of the present day.

§ 44. In the remaining languages, Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati, both forms of the present participle are used as an indefinite present tense, without any trace of the old substantive verb. The indeclinable form occurs constantly in Chand, thus कातिक करत पङ्कर सगान । गोकर्न महातम सुगत कान ॥ "In Kartik he *performs* ablutions at Puhkar, and *hears* with his ears the glories of Gokarn."—Pr. R. i. 198. The long list of words of this form in vi. 39, describing the fight at the darbâr, may be construed either as participles or present tenses. It is one of those scarcely translateable jingles of which Chand is so fond धुक्त धार धार सौं । चक्त मार मार सौं ॥ सुक्त झार झार सौं । तक्त सार सार सौं ॥ and so on for fifty lines. Perhaps the meaning may be thus roughly paraphrased—

They thrust with sword-edge biting,
They shout the shout of smiting;
They crouch from weapons sweeping,
They watch the steel blade leaping.

The meaning is clearer in other places. चलत पवन पावक समान । तपस्यत सुताप मन । सुक्त सरोवर मचत कीच । तलफत मीन तन ॥ (Pr. R. lx. 17), "The wind *blows* like to fire, distressing the mind (as if with) penance, the tanks *dry up*, the mud is *stirred up*, the fishes' bodies *pant*." So in Bihari Lal, मकराकृत गोपाल के कुंडल सोहत कान । धर्यीं मगौ हिय घर समर झौडी लसत निशान ॥ "The dolphin-shaped earring *shines* (sohat) in the ear of Gopal, as the flag of love *appears* (lasat) at the threshold while he enters the heart" (Sat. vi.). He constantly uses the feminine Braj form in ति both as a participle and a present. कहति न देवर की कुवत कुवतिय कसह डराति ॥ पंजर

नत मंत्रार दिन शुभ वीं सूखति जाति । “The virtuous wife *does not repeat* the bad words of her husband’s younger brother, *fearing* (darāti) a quarrel, but *dries up* with fear, like a parrot when a cat approaches its cage” (Sat. xv.).

In classical Hindi both forms are used as a present tense, it is unnecessary to give instances, as the practice is universal. The same is the case in P., where मैं चहादा “I send,” is the ordinary indefinite present. सझर दी रोडी मुंजे कुडी दे मुअं पाउदे “They put a lump of sugar in the mouth of the boy and girl.”¹

Classical Hindi also uses this participle, with “if” prefixed as a past conditional; thus they say जदि मैं जानता तो कबही नहीं जाता “Had I known, I never would have gone,”—a similar practice to that of O. and B. mentioned in the last section.

The declinable participle is used in G. as a past habitual, or as a subjunctive aorist, according to the grammarians, so that ऊं छोडतो means “I used to loose,” or, “I should loose.” In the former sense it is employed in the same way as the old present or aorist ऊं छोडुं. The example given is तमे बराबर भाग राखता (pl. masc.) नहीं “you used not to keep a fair share.”² Most commonly, however, it is used with an auxiliary verb in a variety of meanings, this language being very fertile in the production of compound tenses.

§ 45. The passive past participle in Sanskrit has many forms; the simplest, though least widely used, in the classical language, is, however, that in *ita* (*itas, itā, itam*), as पतित “fallen.” The त् of the affix, as would be expected, becomes in the higher Prakrits द्, and in the more common dialects falls out altogether; thus we have हाबिदं = हारितं “lost,” मुसिदो = मूषितः “robbed,” गहिदं = गृहीतं “taken,” and many others.

But Var. vii. 32 admits even in Maharashtri the form from

¹ “Panjab Customs,” in Appendix to Panjabi Grammar, Loodhiana, p. 91.

² Leckey, Grammar, p. 160.

which the **द्** has entirely dropped, and instances **हसिचं** for **हसितं** "laughed," **पठिचं** for **पठितं** "recited," and this form has become the type of most modern languages. In Old-Hindi this participle regularly ends in sing. **यो m.**, **ई f.**, pl. **ए m.**, **ई f.**, as **जळी m.**, **जळी f.**, etc., "burnt." Here the **य** represents the **इ** of the Prakrit, hardened into a semivowel before the final vowel. In the feminine it is merged in the **ई** of the affix, and in the plural lost altogether, for **जळी** easily passes into **जळे**.

Chand uses this form throughout, as **तच रङ्गी जोति गय देव चान** "his body *remained* bright, he *went* to the abode of the gods" (i. 299); **कयीं** "done," **नयी** "gone," etc. It is, however, more frequently used as a tense than as a participle, and further illustrations will be given in a following section.

The form in **यो** lasts all through the mediæval poets, and is still in use in the dialects of Rajputana and in Braj. In the former a slight change has occurred, sing. **मार्यो**, pl. **मार्या**, while in Kumaon the form is sing. **मारियो**, pl. **मारिया**.

Modern classical Hindi has sing. **मारा m.**, **मारी f.**; pl. **मारे m.**, **मारीं f.**, "struck."

Panjabi retains the **इ** of the Prakrit, and has sing. **मारिचा m.**, **मारी f.**; pl. **मारे m.**, **मारीचां f.**, "struck;" so also does Sindhi, sing. **हसिचो** or **हळो m.**, **हळी f.**; pl. **हळ्या m.**, **हळिचं f.** Trumpp seems to be here in error in saying that the **य** has been inserted to fill the hiatus caused by the elision of the **द्**. It is rather the **इ** of **इदो** hardened to a semivowel, as in Old-H. and P.

Oriya has rejected the final syllable, just as it has in its present participle, and has an indeclinable past participle in **इ**, as **dekhi**. This is never used alone, but only in composition, with an auxiliary forming a tense. The past participle used to form the passive ends in **इ**, like H., as **dekhā jibā** "to be seen."

The same form is found in Gujarati, as sing. **होद्यो** (chhodyo) **m.**, **होदी f.**, **होद्युं** (chhodyū) **n.**; pl. **होद्या m.**, **होदी f.**, **होद्यां n.** G., however, in common with M. B. and O., has another

form of this participle ending in an affix, whose special type is ख. The forms may be brought together for comparison—

G. Sing.	होरेखो <i>m.</i> ,	होरेखी <i>f.</i> ,	होरेखुं <i>n.</i>
M. (neuter) Sing.	सुटखा <i>m.</i> ,	सुटखी <i>f.</i> ,	सुटखें <i>n.</i>
„ (active) „	सोडिखा <i>m.</i> ,	सोडिखी <i>f.</i> ,	सोडिखें <i>n.</i>
G. Pl.	होरेखा <i>m.</i> ,	होरेखो <i>f.</i> ,	होरेखां <i>n.</i>
M. (neuter) Pl.	सुटखे <i>m.</i> ,	सुटखा <i>f.</i> ,	सुटखीं <i>n.</i>
„ (active) „	सोडिखे <i>m.</i> ,	सोडिखा <i>f.</i> ,	सोडिखीं <i>n.</i>

B. देखिख, in Old-B. देखिखा (only used as a tense combined with *es*), देखिखे “having seen.”

O. देखिख (the same), देखिखे *id.*

The Bhojpurī dialect of Hindi has also an indeclinable past participle मारख, in some districts also मारिखा, from which it forms a tense.

Here the junction vowel varies much. In B. O. and the active of M. it is इ. In G., on the other hand, it is ए, while in the neuter of M. it is *a*. M. has a long string of verbs, both active and neuter, with the junction vowel *á*; some of these are causals by origin, as पठ “flee,” p.p. पठाखा, for *paṭh-ila* (as in B. and O. पसाख). Others, again, owe the long vowel to a Skr. *ay*, as उड़ “fly,” p.p. उड़ाखा, Skr. उडुयित ✓ उह + डी. Others are denominatives, as दीप “be dazzled,” दीपाखा, Skr. दीपयित; there are, however, some which I am not able to explain on any of the above grounds. The list comprises about thirty verbs only, and in twenty-five of them participles, with the junction vowel *a*, are also in use.

The usual explanation of this form in *l* is that it is derived from the Skr. p.p.p. in *ita*, through Pr. *ido*, by change of इ to उ, and thence to ख. The change is undoubtedly possible as far as उ and ख are concerned, or as far as त and इ are concerned; but the change from इ to उ is a great stumbling-block. The great authority of Lassen (p. 363) is usually quoted in

support of this view, but even he cannot avoid being struck by the coincidence between this and the Slavonic preterites in *l*.

As regards the change from *ḍ* to *ḍ*, it is observable that it only occurs in those Skr. preterites which contain a cerebral. Thus *कृत* becomes in Magadhi *कडे* (Mr. 270). Here, however, there was evidently a form *कर्त = कट = कड*, so that there is no question of a *ḍ* at all. So also in *वाचड* for *वापृत = वापर्त = *पट = *पड* (Mr. 227). The only other instance known to me is *नडे* for *नत* (Mr. 276), but here we may fairly assume a false analogy with *कडे = कृत*. So widespread a form as the modern participle in *l* must rest upon some firmer proof than the rare examples given above.

I am disposed to think that we have in this participle the survival of an ancient form which has not been preserved in classical Sanskrit, nor in the written Prakrits. Perhaps (but here I tread on ground somewhat beyond my own domain) that type of the passive past in Skr. which ends in *न* or *ष* may be the classical representative of this ancient form; thus we have from *√क्ष* "cut," *क्षनः*, from *√भिद्* "cleave," *भिन्नः*, and in some roots both forms, that in *त* and that in *न*, stand side by side, thus *√पू* "fill," makes *पूर्णः* and *पूर्तः*, *√जुद्* "push," *जुन्नः* and *जुत्तः*.

Even in the Slavonic languages, however, the characteristic *l* of the preterite is thought to have arisen from an original *d*, and that again from *t*.¹ If this be so, we have here an ancient change which took place before the separation of the various members of the Indo-European family, and not a mere local corruption confined to Indian ground. In Russian the preterite is a participle with forms for gender, thus from *dielat* "to make," pret. sing. *dielal' m.*, *dielala*, *dielalo n.*, pl. *dielali mfn.*² In Servian the same form occurs, *trés* "to shake," has—

Sing. *trésao m.*, *trésla f.*, *tréslo n.*

Pl. *trésli m.*, *trésle f.*, *trésla n.*

¹ Rapp, *Verbal-organismus*, vol. i. p. 99.

² Beiff, *Russ. Grammar*, p. 97; Rapp, vol. i. 137.

Compare Marathi—

Sing. trāsalā,	trāsalī,	trāsalē.
Pl. trāsale,	trāsalyā,	trāsālī

from त्रासणे "to trouble." The similarity is striking, and seems to be more than a mere accidental coincidence. Moreover, the connection between this Slavonic *l* and *n* is shown in more than one instance. Thus, the Russian verb has from *nes* "to drag" a pret. past sing. *nesén m.*, *neséna f.*, *neseno n.*, pl. *neseny*. The same form occurs in the Czech.

But we are getting beyond bounds. The comparison is attractive, and, if there were time to study the Slavonic languages as well as the Indian, might perhaps be worked out to some conclusive result. All that can be said at present is that two groups of the same family have a preterite in *l*, and that there may be some connection between the two; while, on the other hand, the derivation of this preterite from a past participle in *t* seems strained and ill-supported as regards the Indian group, and if true for the Slavonic group, must have occurred a long while ago, before the separation of the families, and has strangely failed to leave any traces of itself in the most important language of the Indian group in its most cultivated stage.

§ 46. Let us turn to matters more within our scope. The passive past participle is the only part of the modern verb which affords an exception to the general rule of the unchangeableness of the stem-syllable. Each one of the modern languages has a few such participles, which, being derived from the Prakrit developments of the Skr. p.p.p., differ from their respective verbal stems, which latter are derived generally from the form of the root used in the present tense. These early Tadbhava participles, as they may justly be called, are most numerous in Sindhi. Trumpp gives (p. 273) a list of no

less than 140 of them, a number which far exceeds that to be found in any other of the languages. They owe their existence chiefly to the omission in Skr. of the intermediate **ङ्**, so that the affix **त्** of the p.p.p. is added directly to the root, and when this root ends in a consonant, there arises a strong or mixed nexus, which in Prakrit has to be dealt with according to the ordinary phonetic laws. Sometimes, as we saw in § 14, the stem of the verb itself is entirely borrowed from the p.p.p., and in that case the modern participle does not differ from the rest of the verb; but when the ordinary stem is derived from the older present, and only the participle from the old p.p.p., the two differ so much that it is difficult at first sight to recognize the connection between them.

The verbs given in § 19 have mostly old Tadbhava participles, and it is through these participles that the clue is found to the derivation of the verb. Thus—

STEM.	SKR.	P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
बध् "be bound"	} √ बंध्	बध्नी (quasi बन्धि)	बन्ध	बन्धी).
बध् "bind"				
बुध् "be heard"	} √ बुध्	बुधो	बुध	
बुध् "hear"				
रध् "be cooked"	} √ रंध्	रधो	रध	
रंध् "cook"				
बभ् "get"	} √ बभ्	बधो	बब्ध	बद्धो
बभ् "be got"				
बुभ् "be milked"	} √ बुभ्	बुधो	बुग्ध	बुद्धो
बुभ् "milk"				
दध् "torment"	} √ दध्	दधो	दग्ध	दद्धो
दध् "be broken"				
भभ् "break"	} √ भभ्	भगो	भप	भग्गो
भभ् "break"				
भुज् "be fried"	} √ भुज्	भुगो	भुष्ट	भुद्ध (analogy of भष)
भुज् "fry"				

STEM.	SKR.	P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
खिन् "be broken"	√ खिद्	खिनी	खिन्न	
खिन् "break"				
सुन् "be heard"	√ सु	सुनी	सुत	(regular modern form)
सुन् "hear"				
खन् "raise"	√ खन्द्	खनी	खन्न	खणिनी
कुह "kill"	√ कुष्	कुठी	कुष्ट	कुट्टी
कुस "be killed"				
गह "rub"	√ घृष्	गठी	घृष्ट	गिट्टी, गट्टी
गस "be rubbed"				
कुह "touch"	√ कुप्	कुती	कुप्त	कुत्ती
कूप "be touched"				

The exact coincidence of these participles with the Sanskrit and Prakrit confirms the derivation of the verbal stems given in § 19. There are many others equally instructive as retaining the Prakrit form; thus, for instance, we can explain the following :

S.	SKR.	S. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
खिन् "smear,"	√ खिप्	खितो	खिन्न	खित्तो
तप् "warm,"	√ तप्	ततो	तप्त	तत्तो
सुन्द् "sleep,"	√ स्वप्	सुतो	सुप्त	सुत्तो
पा "get,"	√ प्राप्	पातो	प्राप्त	पात्तो [?]
आण् "bring,"	√ आणी	आदी	आणीत	
व् "weep,"	√ वद्	वनी	वदित	वसो

So also the origin of उघञ् "wipe out," is obscure, till we look at the p.p.p. उघठी, which leads to Skr. उघुष्ट, and then we see that *ughanu* is for *ugahanu* = *udgharshanam*. The participles in *tho* similarly explain themselves, as

S.	SKR.	S. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
दिस "see,"	√ दृम्	दिठी	दृष्ट	दिट्टी
वस "rain,"	√ वृष्	वठी, वुठी, उठी	वृष्ट	वुट्टी

S.	SKR.	S. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
पिह्, पेह् "enter,"	√प्रविष्	पेठो	प्रविष्ट	परद्धो (H. पैठ)
विह् "sit,"	√उपविष्	वेठो	उपविष्ट	उपरद्धो (H. वैठ)
पीस "grind,"	√पिष्	पीठो	पिष्ट	पिट्ठो
तुस "be pleased,"	√तुष्	तुठो	तुष्ट	तुट्ठो

The next three words have old Tadbhava participles in almost all the languages of this group :

द्विक्कयु "give," p.p.p. द्विनो, Pr. द्वियो.

करयु "do," ,, कीतो, कियो, कयो, Skr. कृत, Pr. कियो, see under H.

मरयु "die," ,, मो, मुचो, Skr. मृत, Pr. मुचो.

Another class is composed of denominatives or neuter verbs with the causal type *dm* (§ 28). These are

Inf. उभामयु "to boil over,"	p.p.p उभायो
,, उझामयु "to be extinguished,"	,, उझायो
,, उडामयु "to fly,"	,, उडायो
,, झपामयु "to decrease,"	,, झपायो
,, खामयु "to be burnt,"	,, खायो
,, विसामयु "to be extinguished,"	,, विसायो
,, विकामयु "to be sold,"	,, विकायो

There is, as already mentioned, considerable obscurity as to the derivation of these words : *udāmanu* is, however, certainly from Skr. *ud-dī*, p.p.p. *dīna*; *ujhāmanu* perhaps from Skr. *ut-kshi*, p.p.p. *kshīna*; *vikāmanu* from Skr. *vikrt*, p.p.p., however, not *krtīna*, but *krtīta*. On the analogy of those verbs whose p.p.p. ended in *na*, may have been formed the modified p.p. in *no* for all verbs of the class, regardless of the fact that in the classical language the causal p.p. would end in *āpita*, e.g. *sthāpita*. In

Hindi, also, stems ending in *d* take this p.p. in *no* in the poets as फिरा, p.p. फिरानो, or apocopated *n*, as रिसा p.p. रिसान.

The above remarks explain nearly half the words in Trumpp's list, for the rest the uncertainty is too great to admit of satisfactory explanation. Trumpp, for instance, would derive झारयु "to satisfy," and झापयु "to be satisfied," from Skr. √तुप, तर्पति, but the p.p.p. झाओ can hardly represent तुप्त. Others again there are whose p.p. is intelligible, while the infinitive is not. जुतो "engaged" (in work) explains itself by Skr. युक्त, Pr. जुत्तो, clearly enough, but its infinitive should be *jujanu* or *junjanu* (Pa. जुंजति). Whence then comes it that the infinitive is *jumbanu*? So also *rudho* "busily employed" is clearly Skr. रुद्ध (रुध्), one form of the infinitive *rujhanu* is regularly derived from Skr. रुध्यते, but what are we to say to another form *rumbhanu* or *rubhanu*?

Panjabi has several of the same early Tadbhava participles as Sindhi, and a few of its own. The total number, however, is much smaller than in Sindhi. The commonest are

	P.P.	SKR.
करना "do,"	कीता	कृत (dialectically also कीदा).
जाया "go,"	गिया, गरया	गत (also जाया = Skr. यात).
जायना "know,"	जाता	ज्ञात.
देखया "see,"	दिट्टा	दृष्ट (also डिट्टा <i>more Sindhico</i>).
देया "give,"	दिन्ता, दिया	दत्त.
लेया "take,"	लीता, लिया	लभित, instead of classical लब्ध.
बरसया "rain,"	बट्टा	वृष्ट.
खाया "eat,"	खाधा	खादित.
पिया "fall,"	पिआ	पतित, Sindhi <i>id.</i> through पड़ओ.
बन्धया "bind,"	बद्धा	बद्ध.
पछायना "recognize,"	पछाता	परिज्ञात? H. पहिचानना.
सिखया "sew,"	सीता	सेवित.
सोया "sleep,"	सुता	सुप्त.

	P.P.	SKR.
पहुँचना "arrive,"	पहुँचतो, पुज्जो	?
रिंन्हा "cook,"	रिन्हा	रन्.
विचहना "marry,"	विचहतो	विवाहित.
कहिणा "say,"	किहा	कथित.
रहिना "remain,"	रिहा	रहित.

In the two last the ह् has leapt over into the preceding syllable, and *kihâ, rihâ*, are for *kahid, rahid*, respectively. The above list nearly, if not quite, exhausts the early Tadbhava participles of Panjabi, and Hindi influence is already at work in favour of the ordinary type.

§ 47. Gujarati has, like Panjabi, a smaller number of these participles than Sindi.

INFIN.		SKR.	PR.
करवुं "do"	करीं, कीधी	कृत	करिषी
खेवुं "take"	खीधी	खन्	
पोहोचवुं "arrive"	पोहोचो, पोहोतो	?	
देखवुं "see"	दिठो, दीठो	दृष्ट	
बीहीवुं "fear"	बीहीनो, बीहीधी	भति	विहिदो (§ 13)
खावुं "eat"	खाधी	खादित	
उपजवुं "produce"	उपजो ंजो	उत्पन्न (present <i>utpadyate</i>)	
पीपजवुं "	पीपजो ंजो	निष्पन्न (pres. <i>nishpadyate</i>)	
पीवुं "drink"	पीधी	पीत	
सुवुं "sleep"	सुतो	सुप्त	
मरवुं "die"	सुखी	मृत	
देवुं "give"	दीधी	दत्त	
बैशवुं "sit"	बैठी	उपविष्ट	
पेशवुं "enter"	पैठी	प्रविष्ट	
गासवुं "flee"	गाठो	गष्ट (present <i>nasatyati</i>)	
जवुं "go"	गधी	गत	

In the instances of *kidho*, *bhīdho*, *khādho*, *pidho*, and *didho*, we have probably formations based on the analogy of *ūdho*, for the exception of *bhīdho*, which may owe its *dh* to a combination of the *h* and *d* of Pr. *vihido*, there is no older form which would yield *dh*. The origin of these forms will be more fully inquired into under Hindi, where they are well illustrated.

So far does the original meaning of these participles appear to have been obscured, that from them a participle ending in *elo* is also formed, and they say *kidhelo*, *dtihelo*, and the like, where the participial element occurs twice. The ordinary verb having two forms of participle, one in *yo*, the other in *elo*, the verbs in the above list were bound to have them also, and instead of adding *elo* to the stem, and making *karelo*, *ūelo*, it has been added to the already formed early Tadbhava participle.

There appears to be a slight difference in meaning between the two forms of the Gujarati past participle, that in *elo* being somewhat more emphatic than that in *yo*. Thus **હું આવ્યો છું** "I am come," but **હું આવેલો છું** "I *am* come," (emphatically).

Marathi has early Tadbhava participles, and it has others, which are accounted irregular by the grammarians from other causes. The former are not numerous, and are chiefly found in the same stems as in the other languages. Thus we have—

ગા "go,"	p.p.p. ગેલા
વે "come,"	,, આલા
મર "die,"	,, મેલા
લે "take" (wear),	,, ધ્યાલા
કર "do,"	,, કેલા

Stems ending in **ख** exhibit **ट** in the participle, as

खख "dig,"	p.p.p. खटखा
म्हख "speak,"	" म्हटखा
हाख "slay,"	" हाटखा

The explanation of these words is apparently to be found in a contraction of syllables ; thus Skr. $\sqrt{\text{खन्}}$ "dig" forms regularly p.p.p. खात, but the **न** being changed to **ख** in Prakrit, a p.p.p. खखित would be legitimately formed, whence खखट, to which, forgetful of the fact that this is already a participle, M. adds its own participial termination खा, and by rejection of the nasal arrives at खटखा. So also $\sqrt{\text{भण्}}$, p.p.p. भणित, whence भणट and म्हट + खा. Skr. हण् has p.p.p. हणत, but a Pr. form हणित would be, and is, used, whence हणट, and the stem-vowel having been lengthened, हाट + खा.

To a similar retention of the **त** of the Skr. p.p.p. may be attributed the following, though the etymology is in some cases very obscure :

छे "take,"	छेतखा "taken."
धू "washed,"	धुतखा "washed."
बघ "see,"	बघितखा "seen."
मान "ask,"	मागितखा "asked."
सान "tell,"	सानितखा "told."
घाख "put,"	घातखा "put."
खा "eat,"	खाखा "eaten."

In § 15 it was shown that Pr. inserts **त्त** in forms like *ghettum*, *ghettûna*, which may be a retention of **त्त** in *grihîta*. In the next four words on the list there seems to be a double participle, as in G. *ktîhelo*, etc. The origin of घाख is unknown to me, it looks like an early causal of छे take. In खा the p.p. is apparently a contraction of खादिखा, Skr. खादित.

§ 48. Hindi has very few of these participles. In the classical language only the following are in use :

करना "do,"	किया "done."
मरना "die,"	मुखा "dead."
लेना "take,"	लिया "taken."
देना "give,"	दिया "given."
जाना "go,"	गया "gone."

All the other verbs in the language form this participle from the common stem used in all the other tenses, though in the mediæval poets some of the old Tadbhava participles are found, as *ditthau* "seen," *tutthau* "pleased," (*tushta*) in Chand. The three verbs *kar*, *le*, and *de*, however, have several peculiar forms in Old-H., and in the mediæval poets, which are still heard in some of the rustic dialects. There are three parallel forms :

कर has i. कीयो or कियो. ii. कीनी or किल्ली. iii. कीधी or किल्ली.
दे ,, i. दीयो or दियो. ii. दीनी or दिल्ली. iii. दीधी or दिल्ली.
ले ,, i. लीयो or लियो. ii. लीनी or लिल्ली. iii. लीधी or लिल्ली.

The curious thing about these three verbs is that every two of them have borrowed a form peculiar to the third. For *kiyau* is properly the participle of *kar*, Skr. कृत, Pr. कियो and कियो. It has been borrowed by *le* and *de*. So *dinau* belongs to *de*, Skr. दत्त, Pa. and Pr. दिखो, and has been borrowed by *kar* and *le*. Also *lidhau* belongs to *le*, Skr. लब्ध, Pa. and Pr. लब्धो, and has been borrowed by *kar* and *de*. We cannot get *kinau* or *kidhau* phonetically from √ कृ, nor *dityau* and *didhau* from √ दा, nor *liyau* and *linau* from √ लभ्, without forcing etymology. These three verbs are so constantly used together, and fall in so conveniently for rhymes in the poets, that it is not surprising that, in the general decay and confusion of forms out of which the modern languages sprung, they should have borrowed from one another. To begin with

our oldest author, Chand, कियो, कियो, and दियो, all occur frequently, with the first vowel both long and short, and the final vowel occasionally cut off if it happens to be in the way of the metre. कन्वा कियो चंदोह ॥ “The girl *made* lamentation” (Pr. R. i. 171). It is long in

कियो तब चित चिहीं दिस ॥

“He then *made* reflection on all sides.”—xx. 20.

कियो चसन को साज ॥

“He *made* preparation for going.”—xx. 28.

Apocopated, as दीय and कीय in

गढ पतिक गढ भार दीय ॥

पूरव दिस तग गमन कीय ॥

“He *entrusted* the fort to the castellan,
Made a going to the eastern country.”—xx. 29.

कीये सब बोलि बंन बजिय ॥

“*Took* all shouting and playing on drums.”—ib.

A form with *a* occurs for *le* and *de* only, as लयो विप्र गुर बोल ॥ “*Took* Brahmins and gurus, saying” (*ib.* 20), and दर सु कन्वा वचन वर ॥ “When the maiden *gave* her troth to the bridegroom” (*ib.* 22).

Commonest by far is the second form with either long or short vowel, in the latter case generally with doubling of the following consonant, and very frequently with the last vowel apocopated. Of these types that with the double consonant is nearest to the Prakrit, and thus presumably the oldest, the rejection of one consonant and lengthening of the preceding vowel is a later feature. In Chand, however, there is no distinction between the two; so that one rhymes with the other, as in

गैर महल प्रिथिराज सधी सवका रस दित्तव ॥

कुसम पटा सिर पाव साग कंदूप रस कीनव ॥

“In his private apartments Prithiraj dallied with his wives and attendants,

In saffron robes and turbaned head he made the sport of love.”

—xxi. 22.

So also **छूटि धरतो निधि किन्नव** "having plundered the land, he has taken treasure" (xxi. 89). In this passage the preceding line ends with **किन्नव**. (In Hindi *av = au*, so *kinnav* is to be read *kinnav*, etc.)

विहसित वरं समन किन्नी गरिद ॥

"Smiling the king accepted the espousal."—xx. 23.

सहस्र घट्टु विव उपर कीनी ॥

तीन उपास गेम तव कीनी ॥

"He poured (gave) a thousand jars over Siva,
Then he took a vow to fast three (days)."—i. 189.

See also the quotation at p. 268 of Vol. II.

Instances of the apocopated form occur chiefly at the end of a line; as

दस कोस जाय मुह्नाम कीन ॥

विष गाम नगर पुर छूट कीन ॥

"Having gone ten *kos* he made a halt,
Villages and towns between he plundered."—i. 208.

परिभाष कुद्ध पर ऊकम दीन ॥

"Parimal gave the order for fighting."—xxi. 5.

The third form is more frequently found with *de*, to which it least of all belongs, and has an additional termination *iya* sometimes attached to it, as

दान मान वन दिखिय

"He gave gifts and honours abundant."—i. 342.

In this passage it rhymes with **खिखिय**, which ought perhaps to be read **खिखिय** "having taken."

There is an instance of the natural change into the palatal in

सगरी नाव जाय बंध किखिय ॥

आरहा उदल उतरन न दिखिय ॥

"Carts and boats he went and stopped;
Âlhâ and Udâl he suffered not to alight."—xxi. 86.

for **बिन्ही** and **दिन्ही** respectively. This latter occurs frequently, in a slightly altered shape—

वर दीधो हुंठा गरिद ॥

“Dhundhâ gave a blessing to the king.”—i. 305.

प्रिथिराज ताहि दो देस दिद ॥

“Prithirâj gave him two provinces.”—ib. 307.

All three types may be found repeatedly throughout the poem. In later times, as in Tulsî Das and in Braj poetry generally, these verbs take the forms **कीन्ही**, **कीन्ही**, and **दीन्ही**, and the last syllable is occasionally apocopated as in Chand. Thus Tulsî Das—

एहि विधि दाह पिया सब कीन्ही ॥

विधिवत न्हाइ तिसांजुलि दीन्ही ॥

“In this way he performed all the ceremony of cremation,
Having duly bathed, he presented the offering of sesamum.”

—Aṅ-k. 894.

मोहि उपदेस दीन्ह गुर नीका ॥

“The *guru* hath given me good advice.”—ib. 928.

ती कत कीन्ह संग कटकार ॥

“Then why has he taken an army with him ?”—ib. 982.

The above examples may suffice for these special types, which have no analogy with other preterites in H. Oriya and Bengali have few such forms, for O. **मसा** and **कसा** are merely contractions of **मरिसा** and **करिसा**, from **मर** “die,” and **कर** “do,” respectively. From **जा** “go,” O. **गसा**, B. **जेस**, is about the only real old Tadbhava in those two languages.

§ 49. The participial tenses formed from the past participle are analogous to those from the present. In ordinary Hindi the participle itself is used as a past tense, without any relic of the substantive verb; it will have been noticed that in all the passages quoted in the last section, the participle must be translated as a preterite, and this is the case in the modern language,

both for active and neuter verbs, as *bolā* "he said," *kiyā* "he did." In the mediæval poets, however, and to this day in the rustic dialects of Oudh and the eastern Hindi area, there exists a preterite with terminations retaining traces of the incorporation of the old substantive verb. Before these terminations the long *ā* and *ī* of the p.p. masculine and feminine are shortened, and the vowel of the masculine is often replaced by *e*. Thus we have (*mār* "strike")—

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
<i>m.</i> मारचं	मारच	मारच	मारिन्हि	मारिञ्च	मारिन्हि
<i>f.</i> मारिचं	मारिच	मारिच	मारिन्हि	मारिञ्च	मारिन्हि

Also in *m.* मारिचं, etc. In the sing. 2, 3, the syllable *सि* is often added, as मारिसि, and varied into हि, as मारिहि *m.*, मारिसि, मारिहि *f.* Thus चलेउ हरषि हिय धरि रघुनाथा "he went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghunātha" (Tulsi Das, Ram. Sund-k. 4), देखेउ नयन राम कर दूता "I have seen with my eyes the messenger of Ram" (*ib.* 12). Tulsi does not observe the gender very closely, if at all,—पुनि परीहरेउ सुखाने उ पर्या ॥ "Again she gave up even dry leaves" (Bal-k. 155), पूछेसि लोगन काह उछाह ॥ "She asked the people, why is this rejoicing?" (Ay-k. 87). But the feminine is kept in प्रियवादिनि सिष दीन्हिउ तोहि ॥ "The flatteress has given instruction to (has prompted) thee" (Ay-k. 101). The type ending in *si*, though used for both 2 and 3 sing., more strictly belongs, I think, to 2 sing. from Skr. *asi*; but in this tense the traces of the substantive verb are so much abraded that it is difficult to speak with certainty about them. The following handful of instances, taken at hazard from one page of the Sundarākāṇḍa of Tulsi's work, will show the various senses in which this affix is used: खाएसि फल चर बिटप उपारे "He eats the fruit, and tears up the bushes" (S-k. 40), कहु मारेसि कहु मर्देसि कहुक मिखाचेसि धुरी ॥ "Some he slew, some he trampled under foot, some he caused to mix with the dust," कह सकैय कवन तैं

बीसा । केहि के बस घालेसि वन खीसा । बीधी अबब सुनेसि नहि मोहि । . . . मारेसि निशिचर केहि अचराधा । “Saith the lord of Lanka, who art thou, and what? By whose strength *hast thou torn* to pieces the forest, *hast thou never heard* of my fame, . . . for what fault *hast thou killed* the demons?” (*ib.*) Panjabi throws no light on the subject, as it does not use this form, but employs the participle simply as a tense, as *maī, tū, uh mārīd*, “I, thou, he, smote.” Indeed, to such an extent in H. and P. has this custom of using the bare participle as a preterite tense prevailed, that it cannot now be used in any other sense, and if we wish to say “smitten,” we must not use H. *mārā* or P. *mārīd* alone, but must add the participle of the modern substantive verb, and say H. *mārā hūā*, P. *mārīd hoīd*. The only trace in P. of the old substantive verb is to be found in a dialectic form which I have often heard, though it does not seem to be used in writing, as बीतोस “he did,” which is probably to be referred to S. कृतोऽस्मि. The grammarians, however, suppose that *kitos* is in some way a metathesis of *us ne kīta*, so that *kitā + us = kitos*. The instrumental, however, of *uh* “he,” is not *us ne*, but *un*; *us ne* is Hindi, and would hardly have been resorted to in the formation of a pure dialectic type like this. Moreover, in the 1 plural we have such expressions as खादिसा, which is evidently *khānde + 'sā*, for *asā = asmāh*.

Different from modern, but strikingly similar to mediæval, Hindi in this respect is Sindhi, which does not employ the participle singly as a preterite, but, except in the 3 sing. and pl., has relics of the substantive verb incorporated with it, thus (*hal* “go”)—

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
m. हल्लिउसि	हल्लिएं	हल्लिओ	हल्लिआसीं	हल्लिआउ	हल्लिआ
f. हल्लिअसि	हल्लिअं	हली	हल्लिअंसीं	हल्लिअं	हल्लिअं

By comparing these terminations with those of the S. future,

which is based upon the present participle (§ 41), it will be seen that they are absolutely identical, thus :

halandu -si	corresponds to	haliu -si.
halandia -si	„	halia -si.
halandâ -sî	„	haliâ -sî.
halandiû -sî	„	haliû -sî.
etc.		etc.

and the terminations may, in the case of the preterite, therefore, as well as in that of the future, be referred to the old Skr. verb *as* in various degrees of decay.

Marathi exhibits the same analogy between the present and the preterite; to its p.p. in **जा** *m.*, **जी** *f.*, **जे** *n.*, etc., it adds the same terminations as to the present p. in **ता** *m.*, **ती** *f.*, **ते** *n.*, etc. Thus

Sing. 1.	सुटलो <i>m.</i> ,	सुटले <i>f.</i> ,	सुटले <i>n.</i>
2.	सुटलास <i>m.</i> ,	•सीस <i>f.</i> ,	•सेस <i>n.</i>
3.	सुटला <i>m.</i> ,	•सी <i>f.</i> ,	•से <i>n.</i>
Pl. 1.	सुटलो <i>m. f. n.</i>		
2.	सुटला <i>id.</i>		
3.	सुटले <i>m.</i>	•सा <i>f.</i>	•सी <i>n.</i>

The forms exactly agree with those of the present, as will be seen by turning to § 42. There is no conditional as in the present. When it desires to use this form in an adjectival sense, *M.*, having apparently forgotten its originally participial nature, adds another एसा, thus we get मेलेले जनावर “a dead animal,” केलेला पुरुष “a made (*i.e.* experienced) man.” The fact so well established for *S.* and *M.* may help us to understand, if we cannot fully explain, the preterites of *O.* and *B.*, which are formed in the same way. From a p.p. देखिल, *O.* constructs a preterite, thus—

Sing. 1.	देखिलि	2. देखिलु	3. देखिला,
Pl. 1.	देखिलुं	2. देखिल	3. देखिले,

where the terminations correspond exactly with those of the conditional, which is similarly formed from the present participle.

Bengali does the same (*pace* the Pandits), as—

Sing. 1. देखिनु	2. देखिनि	3. देखिन.
Pl. 1. देखिसाम	2. देखिसा	3. देखिसेन.

Here the 3 sing. has also देखिसेक् with a final क्, as in the imperative and future, concerning which see § 53. The 1 sing. in *nu* is frequently heard in speaking, and is very common in the old poets, as चप रूप पेखनु रामा “*I saw* the fair one looking woe-begone” (Bidyapati, vii. 1), where some read पेखिनु.

In Gujarati the participle is used alone as a preterite in both forms, that in *yo* and that in *elo*, but more frequently a modern substantive verb is added for greater clearness. This language has no traces of the old incorporated Sanskrit *as*.

§ 50. In the past tenses of all but B. and O. the *prayogas* or constructions mentioned in Vol. II. p. 264, are employed. In most of the languages, indeed, their use is restricted to the past tenses. The direct or *kartā prayoga* is used with neuter verbs, and requires the subject to be in the nominative case, while the participle, which does duty for a preterite, changes with the gender of the speaker. Thus

H. वह बोला “he spoke,”	वे बोले “those men spoke.”
वह बोली “she spoke,”	वे बोली “those women spoke.”

So, also, in P. S. and G. In M. the principle is the same, though there is more variety of forms :

तो म्हटला “he said,”	ते म्हटले “illi dixerunt.”
ती म्हटली “she said,”	त्या म्हटल्या “illæ dixerunt.”
ते म्हटले “it said,”	तीं म्हटलीं “illa dixerunt.”

And so through all the persons except 1 and 2 plural, where no

distinction of gender is necessary, as the speaker is known. In the active verb, however, the *karma* or objective construction is used, where the subject is put in the instrumental, the verb agreeing in number and gender with the object. Thus, H. मैंने तुम से बड़े कठोर वचन कहे हैं "I have spoken very harsh words to you" (Sak. 33). Here the subject *māi ne* is in the instrumental, the verb *kahe hāi* is masc. plural, to agree with the object *vachan*. देव ने विसा ही जोन मिखा दिया (ib. 39) "Destiny has joined just such a joining" (has brought about such a marriage).

So also in M. the p.p. is declined for all three genders in both numbers so as to agree with the object, as त्वाने पोथी वाचिल्ली "he read the book," where *vāchillī* is fem. sing., to agree with *pothī*. In M. and S. many verbs are both active and neuter, in which case the preterite has a double construction, direct or *kartā* when the verb is used as a neuter, objective or *karma* when it is used as an active. So also in G. The distinction appertains to syntax, and not to formlore, and need not be more than mentioned here.

There is also a third or impersonal construction technically known as *bhāva*, in which the object is not expressed, and the verb, therefore, remains always in the neuter. In M., however, this construction is used even when the object is expressed, as त्वाने त्वासा मारिल्लें "he beat him," literally "by him to him beaten."

§ 51. The participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in *त्वा*, plays an important part in the modern verb in some languages. It does not, like the two previously noticed participles, form modern participles, but rather various kinds of verbal nouns, such as in Latin grammar we are familiar with under the names of gerunds and supines, also the infinitive. The Latin gerund itself is, however, closely allied to the participle of the future passive, for *amandi*, *amando*, *amandum*, are

respectively the genitive, dative, and accusative of *amandus*. There is, therefore, a participial nature inherent in these forms which justifies their inclusion in the present chapter. The Skr. *tavya* becomes in Pr. *davva*, and with elision of the *d*, *avva*. Thus Skr. बोधितव्य, Pr. बोधिद्व, बोधिअव्व. So also Pr. करिद्व, करिअव्व, which must be referred to a Sanskrit form करितव्य rather than to the classical form कर्तव्य, for Prakrit, as mentioned before, generally takes no heed of Sanskrit subtleties about inserting or omitting the intermediate इ, but treats all verbs alike, as if that letter were inserted, and it naturally gives the type to its modern descendants in all cases.

The treatment of the form so inherited from the Prakrit differs in the various languages, both in form and meaning.

Sindhi uses it as a present passive participle ending in *ibo*, Pr. करिअव्वो, losing the *a* and the first *v* of the suffix, becomes करिवो, meaning "being done." The transition from the original sense of "that which is to be (or must be) done," into "that which is being done," is simple and natural. Examples are—

बुसाटवु "to choke,"	बुसाटिवो "being choked."
डोहवु "to cheat,"	डोहिवो "being cheated."
ससवु "to seize."	ससिवो "being seized." ¹

Gujarati differs from Sindhi in rejecting the इ and retaining the अ, thus making करवो "being done," as छोडवो *m.*, वी *f.*, वुं *n.*, etc., "being loosed;" लाववो, however, means "bringing," where the sense has become active. The neuter of this form does duty as an infinitive, as जवुं "to go," of which more hereafter.

In Marathi the vowel preceding the *ov* is lengthened, and one *v* rejected, giving a form करवै, which is the same for active and neuter verbs. The meaning, to judge by the

¹ Trumpp, p. 54.

examples quoted, has also changed, for although properly the same as in the older languages, "that which has to be done," it is used in constructions where it implies "the doing" of a thing only. It takes all three genders, and is commonly used also in the genitive and dative cases **करावयाचें** and **करावयास**, or **कराव्यास**. Thus **ते मी करावयास सिद्ध आहे** "I am ready to do that" (i.e. "to the doing of"), **आपलासी काही बोलावयाचें आहे** "I have something to say to you," i.e. "with you something of that which must be said I am." Thus it approximates somewhat to the infinitive of Gr., as in the following passage :

न करावा संन । वाटे दुरावयिं जन ।

सेवावा एकांत । वाटे न बोलावी मात ।

जन धन तन । वाटे लेखायिं वमन ।

"It is proper not to associate, to be separated from the world ;
It is proper to preserve solitude, not to speak at all ;
People, wealth, self it is proper to consider as vomit."

—Tukaram. Abh. 1885.

Here *rdte* (Skr. **वर्त्तते**) means "it seems," i.e. "it seems proper," like Latin *decet*, *oportet*, *licet*, used impersonally, and the participle agrees with the object. Thus *sanga* and *ekānta* being masc., the participles are masc. *karāvā* and *sevāvā*; *māt* (Skr. **माता**) being fem., *bolāvi* is fem. also; *jag*, *vaman* neut., hence *durāvāven*, *lekhāven* neut. The original meaning of a passive participle may be exhibited by supposing the sentence to be "society is not to be made . . . this seems proper," which is easily inverted into the rendering given above.

When used in the genitive or dative case, the **व** sometimes drops out, and they say, for instance, **आम्हास देशांतरीं जायाचें पडेल** "We shall have to go to another country," for **जाव्या**, literally "to us in another country of going it will fall." Latin would here use the corresponding passive participle, *Nobis eundum erit*, or Skr. *gantaṅyam asti*.

Panjabi has apparently no trace left of this participle, nor

has classical Hindi, but in rustic Hindi, especially in the eastern parts of its area, as well as in Bengali and Oriya, this participle exists. In Bhojpuri it ends in **वे** or **बे**, without any junction-vowel, and means the doing of anything, as **सुनवे न किलन** *sunbe na kailan*, "they did not make a hearing," i.e. "they would not listen," **मानवे न करिहैं** *mānve na karihāi*, "they will not make an obeying," i.e. "they will not obey."¹ It is more emphatic than a simple preterite or future, and implies that the persons referred to obstinately refused to hear or obey.

In B. and O. it is a simple infinitive, but as a noun is declined in all cases, thus B. O. **देखिवा** "to see," genitive **देखिवार** "of seeing," etc. As a noun, it also implies the act of doing anything, as O. **भएइ गीत सुणिवा दोष अटे गारवा त पाप** "the hearing of, or listening to, obscene songs, is a fault, the singing (of them) is a crime" (see § 74).

§ 52. The tenses formed from this participle come next to be considered. In Sindhi the old substantive verb is incorporated, just as in the tenses derived from the present and past participles, but it is used to form a future passive from active verbs only, as (*chhad* "abandon"), "I shall be abandoned," etc.

Sing. m. 1.	छड़िबुसि	2. छड़िबें	3. छड़िबो
f. 1.	छड़िबिअसि	2. छड़िबिअं	3. छड़िबी
Pl. m. 1.	छड़िवासीं	2. छड़िबउ	3. छड़िवा
f. 1.	छड़िबिअंसीं	2. छड़िबिअं	3. छड़िबिअं

Here the terminations are precisely identical in every respect with those of the active future and preterite, exhibited in the preceding sections.

In Gujarati this participle used alone, and inflected for

¹ Kellogg, Grammar, p. 231.

gender, constitutes what the grammar-writers are pleased to call the second present of the second potential mood. It is, however, really a construction of the objective, or *karma*, kind, in which the verb agrees with its object, and the subject or agent is in the instrumental or (as usual in G. in this construction) in the dative; thus they say मारे or में छोडवो "I ought to release," i.e. "by me it is to be released," तोरे or तें वीशवाय करवो "you ought to have confidence," i.e. "by thee trust is to be made," Skr. स्वया विश्वासः कर्तव्यः.

The genitive case also, oddly enough, forms a tense of its own, also with no trace of the old substantive verb, as छोडवानो *m.*, जी *f.*, जुं *n.* The meaning seems hardly, if at all, distinguishable from that of the nominative, and the construction is objective, as in that tense; thus जे काम जमारे करवानुं "the work which we ought to do." I am not altogether satisfied, however, with the explanation of this tense as the genitive of the above participle, and would suggest that it may possibly be derived from the *Âtmane*. pres. part. in *māna*, like *bhavamāna*. It is possible, I think, that though the *Âtmanepada* has dropped out of use at an early epoch, yet that this participle, not being specially recognized as belonging to that phase of the verb, may, in some dialects, have held its own. From the want of documents of the intermediate period, however, the question is one which must remain, for the present at least, obscure.

Marathi combines the terminations used by it in the indicative present and past, with this participle also, but, from a memory of its origin, employs the tense so formed somewhat in the same way as G., namely, as indicating that a thing ought to be or should be done. From this strict and primary sense other subsidiary meanings branch out, as might be expected. The neuter verb uses the direct or *kartā* construction, also the *bhāva* or impersonal; the active uses the *karma* and *bhāva*. As it is only in the direct construction that the verb is conjugated

for person, it is only in the neuter verb that the verbal terminations occur. Thus (*sut* "escape")—

Sing. m. 1.	सुतावा	2. •वास	3. •वा	Pl. 1. •वे	2. •वेत्	3. •वे
f.	सुटावी	•वीस	•वी	•व्या	•व्यात्	•व्या
n.	सुटाविं	•वेस	•वे	•वीं	•वीत्	•वीं

The 2 plural here differs from the other tenses in preserving a separate form for all three genders, in which the final *t* recalls the termination of the 2 plural of the Sanskrit optative.

In the active verb with the *karma* construction, the participle is declined for all three genders of both numbers, but in the nominative case only, and the agent is in the instrumental, thus म्यां, तू or त्वाने सोडावा -वी -वे, etc., "I, thou, he, should loose." In both neuter and active, when the *bhāva* construction is used, the verb stands in the neuter singular with all persons, as सुटाविं or सोडाविं.

Stevenson (p. 101) distinguishes no less than fourteen different senses of this tense, but the distinctions seem somewhat too finely drawn, and belong rather to the department of conventional usage than to that which deals with the organism and structure of the language.

With a short *a* preceding the characteristic च, which is all that remains of the participial ending, M. forms a whole potential mood, which may even be looked upon as a separate phase of the verb. Thus (*sod* "loose")—

Aorist (Past habitual)	मक्षा सोडवे	"I used to be able to loose" (rare),
Present	„ सोडवते	"I can loose,"
Preterite	„ सोडवसे	"I could loose" (rare),
Future	„ सोडवेष	"I shall be able to loose,"
Imperfect	„ सोडवत होते	"I could have loosed,"
Pluperfect	„ सोडवसे होते	"I had been able to have loosed,"

and so on, through all the range of compound tenses. The construction is the Bhâva or impersonal throughout, showing that the form originates from the participle, and is to be literally rendered "by me to be loosed it is, or was," which accounts for the neuter form being used.

§ 53. It is to this place that I would now refer the *ba* type of the future as used in B. and O., and in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi. It has been usual to compare these tenses with the Latin future in *bo*, as *amabo*, and the comparison is tempting, but, as I now think, delusive. It rests upon the supposition that the *b* of the termination represents the substantive verb *bhû*; but to this there are the seemingly fatal objections that *bhû*, in its modified form of *bhava*, had from very early times become *ho*, losing its labial element altogether, and that the present tense *bhavâmi*, etc., though much changed and worn away in modern times, always retains its characteristic vowel *o*, sometimes shortened to *u* or resolved into *ua*. It is only when an *i* follows the *o*, that the combination *oi* is at times shortened to *e*, as in O. *hebâ*=*hoibâ*.

Judging by the analogy of the cognate languages, it seems that we ought now to see in the B. and O. future the Skr. participle in *tavya*, in combination with the present tense of \sqrt{as} . The forms are (*dekh*, "see")—

B.	Sing.	1. देखिब	2. देखिबि	3. देखिबे •बेक्
O.	„	1. देखिबि	2. देखिबु	3. देखिब
Bhojpuri.	„	1. देखब्	2. देखब	3. देखी
B.	Pl.	1. देखिब	2. देखिबा •बे	3. देखिबेन
O.	„	1. देखिबु •बा	2. देखिब	3. देखिबे
Bhojpuri.	„	1. देखब्	2. देखब	3. देखिही

The 3 sing. and 3 pl. of Bhojpuri may be excluded from this

group, as they belong to the *sa* or *ha* type of the future (§ 35). The dialect of Riwâ has some forms of the *ba* type, as 2 sing. मारिबेस, 1 pl. मारिब, मारब, and मारिबै, 2 pl. मारिबा. The dialect of Oudh (Avadhî) has 1 sing. मारबू, 2 मारबेस, मारबे, 1 pl. मारब, 2 मारबो, and in the old Purbi dialect मारब *mârab* is used for all three persons of both numbers.

There is thus apparent a general tendency to the use of the *ba* type of future throughout the eastern area of the Aryan territory in India, and it will be seen by comparing either B. or O. terminations of the future with those of the tenses formed by those languages from the present and past participles respectively, that they are almost, if not quite identical. Thus O.—

	PRESENT.	PAST.	FUTURE.
Sing.	1. dekhant -i	dekhil -i	dekhil -i
	2. dekhant -u	dekhil -u	dekhil -u
	3. dekhant -â	dekhil -â	dekhil -â
Pl.	1. dekhant -û	dekhil -û	dekhil -û
	2. dekhant -a	dekhil -a	dekhil -a
	3. dekhant -e	dekhil -e	dekhil -e

As the analogy of the other languages compels us to see in these terminations abraded fragments of the present tense of *as*, when combined with the present and past participles, the same process of reasoning leads us to see the same element in combination with the future participle, and the 2 sing. of the Riwâ and Avadhî dialects further confirms this view by having preserved, like Marathi, the characteristic *s* of the Skr. 2 sing. *asi*. There is the same agreement of the final vowel in these three tenses of the B. verb, though it is not so accurately preserved as in the more archaic Oriya. Thus B. *dekhil-a* does not correspond with *dekhil-âm*, and *dekhil-âm*. So, also, B. *dekhil-is* differs from *dekhil-i* and *dekhil-i*. There is, however, sufficient general similarity, and the differences consist

mostly in this, that one tense has preserved a more archaic form than the other, thus *dekhitām* preserves Skr. *asmi*, Pr. *amhi*, better than *dekhiba*, *dekhitis* preserves the *s* of *asi*, while *dekhili* and *dekhibi* have rejected it. Thus, while the abrasion of the substantive verb has been carried to so great a pitch in these two languages as almost to obliterate all traces of it, yet, from the general analogy of cognate forms, there is little doubt that we have in the *ba* future the Skr. participle in *taoya*. The final *k* in the 3 sing. of B. is a phenomenon for which I have in vain sought an explanation; the most probable one is, I think, that which considers it merely as a *tag*, or meaningless addition, but why a *tag* should have been added to this person merely, and not to others also, remains to be explained.

§ 54. The two remaining types of the future may appropriately be introduced here. They are certainly participial tenses, though not participial in the same sense or on the same plan as the other tenses discussed in this chapter; they are, in fact, exactly the reverse. Whereas, in the other participial tenses, it is the modern stem which is the participle, and the ancient verbal additions are a present tense, in the two types of future, which we shall now examine, the modern stem is a present tense, and the ancient verbal addition is a participle.

The first of the two is the *ga* type. This consists in adding H. sing. *गा m.*, *गी f.*, pl. *गे m.*, *गी f.*, to the aorist, and the same in P. except the pl. *f.*, which is *गीयाँ*. In the pl. *f.* H. also ordinarily drops the anuswāra. This type is only found in H. and P. The tense runs thus (*sun* "hear"), "I will hear," etc.

H. Sing.	1. सुनूँगा	2. सुनेगा	3. सुनेगा
„ Pl.	1. सुनेने	2. सुनेने	3. सुनेने
P. Sing.	1. सुखांगा	2. सुखेगा	3. सुखेगा
„ Pl.	1. सुखाने	2. सुखाने	3. सुखाने

If the reader will compare this example with that of the aorist in § 33, it will be at once apparent that this tense is formed by adding the syllables *gá*, *gí*, etc., to that tense. Among the Mahomedans of Delhi and other large cities, this form is used even as a present, and one frequently hears such a word as *haigá*, for *hai* "it is." There can be little doubt that this *gá* is the Skr. p.p. गत, Pr. गदो, गवो, गघो. In H., as mentioned in § 48, the p.p. of *jānā* "to go," is *gayá m.*, and this in the mediæval poets is often shortened to *gá*. The *f.* is गई *gat*, which easily becomes गी, so also pl. *m.* गए becomes गे. The meaning of the tense is thus, "I have gone (that) I may do," a construction which recalls our English idiom "I am going to do," and French "je vais faire." The participial nature of the affix is shown by its being inflected for gender and number in concord with the agent.

This type seems to be of late origin. It is not much, if at all, known or used by the early writers, who, except when they use the future of the *ba* type, generally express a future sense by the aorist only. As this method grew by degrees to be felt insufficient, the participle was added to give greater distinctness.

§ 55. The second type is that which has *l* for its characteristic. Among the classical dialects Marathi only employs this form, and there has been much speculation about the Marathi future by those who only looked to the language itself. It had, however, long been known that a future with this type existed in the Marwári dialect, belonging to the Hindi area, and spoken over a large extent of country in Western Rajputana. The able researches of Kellogg have recently placed us in possession of two more instances of a future of this type spoken in Nepal and by the mountaineers of Garhwál, and Kumaon in the Himalayas, who are by origin Rajputs from the

plains. Thus, the Marathi future now no longer stands alone, and we are in a position to compare the whole group of futures of the *la* type (*par* "fall," *mār* "strike," *ho* "be," *sut*, *soḍ*).

SINGULAR.

Marwāri.	1. पडूँखो	2. पडिखो	3. पडिखो	
Gaṛhwāli.	1. मारखो	2. मारिखो	3. मारखो	
Kumaoni.	1. भाइँखो	2. मारेखो	3. मारखो	
Nepali.	1. झँखा	2. होखास	3. होखा	
Marāthi.	{	neuter. 1. सुटेन	2. सुटखीस	3. सुटेस
		active. 1. खोडीन	2. खोडिखीस	3. खोडीस

PLURAL.

Marwāri.	1. पडाँखा	2. पडोखा	3. पडिखा	
Gaṛhwāli.	1. मारखा	2. मरिखा	3. मारखा	
Kumaoni.	1. भाइँखा	2. मारखा	3. मारखा	
Nepali.	1. झीँखा	2. हीखा	3. झन	
Marāthi.	{	neuter. 1. सुटूँ	2. सुटाख	3. सुटतीस
		active. 1. खोडूँ	2. खोडाख	3. खोडितीस

In these dialects the aorist has had added to it a form खो sing. and खा pl., which does not appear to be inflected for gender, but has only sing. and pl. masc. So far as it goes, however, it directly corresponds to H. and P. *gā*, *ge*, etc., and like them points to a participial origin. In Marathi the inflectional terminations have been dropped, and in some cases even the *la* itself. The 1 sing. of the neuter aorist is सुटे, and adding ख to this, we get सुटेख, which, being difficult to pronounce, has glided into सुटेन. In the 1 pl., however, the ख has simply been rejected, so that it is the same as the aorist. In the 2 sing. the aorist has सुटख, but, as has already been shown, this is a contraction from सुटसि, and सुटसि + ख =

सुटसीक्, from the Marathi habit of lengthening the vowel of a final syllable. In the 2 pl. aorist सुटा, the क् has neither been fused with the anuswâra into ञ्, as in the 1 sing., nor has it altogether dropped out, as in the 1 pl.; but there is no trace of the anuswâra; the reason of this is that the anuswâra in this person is not organic; the older language has simply *â*, as सुटा, and it is to this that the क् has been added, and not to the modern form. The third person singular and plural is still simpler; aor. सुटे + क् = सुटेक्, and (archaic) सुटती + क् = सुटतीक्. The same process is followed by the active verb exactly.

I look upon this क् as the shortened form of a sing. ङी *m.*, ङी *f.*, pl. ङा *m.*, ङी *f.*, of which the feminine is apparently not in use, and I derive it from Skr. √ङ्, p.p. ङप्, Pr. ङग्गो, of which the *gg* has been reduced to *g* according to ordinary practice, and the single *g* has then dropped out, leaving ङप्, shortened into ङी. This derivation is confirmed by the fact that in all the languages this verb is used in the sense of beginning to do any thing, as in H. ङने ङगा, "he began to do." In M. especially it is used in a very wide range of applications, and सुटेक् appropriately means "he begins (that) he may do," in other words "he is about to do," "he will do."

§ 56. I give here, for convenience of comparison, a tabular view

I.—PRESENT PAR-

Sanskrit पचन् *m.*, पचन्ती *f.*, पचत् *n.*

	HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDHI.	
Participle.	देखता •ती	1. चांदा •दी •दे •दीषा	<i>Neuter.</i> हसंदो •दी	<i>Actives.</i> भरींदो •दी
(a) <i>declinable.</i>	•ते •ती	2. मारदा •दी, etc.	•दा •दिउ	•दा •दिउ
(b) <i>indeclinable.</i>	देखत देखत	”	”	”
Present (Future, etc.) Tense.	S. 1.	} देखता •ती मारदा •दी	हसंदुसि •दिषसि	भरींदुसि, etc.
	2.		हसंदं •दिषं	भरींदं •दिषं
	3.		हसंदो •दी	भरींदो •दी
	Pl. 1.	} देखते •ती मारदे •दीषा	हसंदासी •बुसी	भरींदासी, etc.
	2.		हसंदउ •बु	भरींदउ •बु
	3.		हसंदा •बु	भरींदा •बु

¹ On account of the multiplicity of forms in Marathi, the masculine

of the participles and the participial tenses derived from them.

TICIPLE ACTIVE.

Prakrit पचती *m.*, *ती *f.*, *तं *n.*

GUJARATI.	MARATHI.		ORIYA.	BANGALI.
होइतो *ती *तु *ता *ती *ता होइता *ते	<i>Neuter.</i> सुटता *ती *तें *ते *त्वा *तीं सुटत *तां *तांगा	<i>Active.</i> सोडिता *ती *तें *ते *त्वा *तीं सोडीत *तां *तांगा	"	"
} होइतो *ती *तु	सुटतो ¹ सुटतोस सुटतास सुटतो सुटता	सोडितो सोडितोस सोडितास सोडितो सोडिता	देखति देखतु देखता	देखिताम देखितिस देखित
	सुटतो सुटता सुटतात सुटते	सोडितो साडिता सोडितात सोडिते	देखतुं देखत देखते	देखिताम देखिता देखितेन

only of the indicative and conditional are given in this table.

II.—PAST PARTICIPLE PASSIVE.

Sanskrit कृतस् *m.*, कृता *f.*, कृतं *n.* Prakrit करिओ *m.*, करी *f.*, करिचं *n.*

	HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.	ORIYA.	BANGALI.
Participle.	मारा०री रे०री	मारिआ०री रे०रीआ	हखो०सी आ०खूं	होखो०सी०खूं आ०सी०खा and होखेओ, etc.	सुटबा०सी०खे खे०खा०सी	देखिब देखिब	देखिब देखिब
S. 1.	मारा०री	मारिआ०रे	हसिउसि०असि	होखो०सी०खूं होखेओ०सी०खूं	सुटकों०खे०खों	देखिबि	देखिगु
2.			हसिए०एअ		सुटबास०सीस०खेअ	देखिबु	देखिबि
3.			हखो०रे		सुटबा०सी०खे	देखिबा	देखिब
Pl. 1.	मारे०री	मारे०रेआ	हसिआसी, etc.	होखा०सी०खा होखेबा०सी०खी	सुटकों	देखिबु	देखिबाम
2.			हसिआउ०यूं		सुटबां	देखिब	देखिबा
3.			हसिआ०यूं		सुटबे०खा०सी	देखिबे	देखिबे

Past Tense.

III.—FUTURE PARTICIPLE PASSIVE.

Sanskrit बोधितव्यस् m., व्या f., वं n. Prakrit बोधिद्व, बोधिद्व.

	HINDI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.	ORIYA.	BANGALI.
Participle (Infinitive, etc.).	सुनवे मानवे	हडवो वी वा व्भु	होडवो वी वुं वा वी वी	सुटावा वी वं वे व्या वी	देखिवा	देखिवा
S. 1.	देखव् ¹	हडिबुसि ²		सुटावा ¹	देखिनि	देखि
2.	देखव	हडिवे		सुटावास	देखिनु	देखिनि
3.	deest	हडिबो	होडवो, etc.	सुटावा	देखिब	देखिबे वक्
Pl. 1.	देखव्	हडिवासी	होडवानो, etc.	सुटावे	देखिनु वा	देखिब
2.	देखव	हडिबड		सुटवे त	देखिब	देखिवा वे
3.	deest	हडिवा		सुटावे	देखिबे	देखिबेन

¹ See other dialectic forms in § 53.

² Only the masculine is given from want of space.

§ 57. The only participial tenses in the Gipsy verb are those formed from the past participle. This participle is sometimes regularly formed from the modern verbal root, and sometimes, as in the other languages, is an early Tadbhava, perpetuating the type of the Prakrit participle.

There are, as in the other languages, three types of this participle ending in (1) *to* or *do*, (2) *lo*, (3) *no*. Examples of the first type are—

<i>anáva</i> "to carry,"	ando,	Skr. áni,	p.p.p. ánta,	S. ándo.
<i>jiváva</i> "to live,	jivdo,	,, jiv,	,, jivita.	
<i>keráva</i> "to do,"	kerdo,	,, kri,	,, kṛita,	Pers. karda.
<i>nasháva</i> "to depart,"	nashto,	,, naç,	,, nashta.	
<i>chináva</i> "to cut,"	chindo,	,, chhid,	,, chhinna.	

Of the second type—

<i>aváva</i> "to come,"	alo,	,, áyá,	,, áyáta,	M. álá, B. O. áila.
<i>jáva</i> "to go,"	gelo,	,, yá,	,, yáta,	M. gelá, B. gela, O. galá.
<i>dikáva</i> "to see,"	diklo,			B. dekhila, O. dekhilá.

Of the third type—

<i>dáva</i> "to give,"	dino,	,, dá,	,, datta,	Pr. diṇṇo, O.- H. dinná, dīnā
<i>láva</i> "to take,"	lino,	,, labh,	,, labdha,	O.-H. linná, līnā.
<i>rováva</i> "to weep,"	rovno,	,, rud,	,, rudita,	Pr. ruṇṇo, S. runo.
<i>uryáva</i> "to fly,"	uryano,	,, uddi,	,, uḍḍina,	S. uḍāṇo.

The Aorist is formed by adding the terminations of the old substantive verb, thus from *lino* "taken"—

Sing.	1. linom,	2. linán,	3. linás,
Pl.	1. linán,	2. linán,	3. linás "I took," etc.

So from *kerdo* "done," comes

Sing. 1. *kerdom*, 2. *kerdân*, 3. *kerdâs*,

Pl. 1. *kerdâm*, 2. *kerdân*, 3. *kerdâs* "I did," etc.

And from *muklo* "abandoned" (Skr. *mukta*)—

Sing. 1. *muklom*, 2. *muklân*, 3. *muklâs*,

Pl. 1. *muklâm*, 2. *muklân*, 3. *muklâs* "I left," etc.

This proceeding is strictly analogous in principle to the method employed in Sindhi, to which, of all the Indian languages, that of the Gipsies bears the closest relation.

The future is formed by prefixing to the present tense the word *kâma*, Skr. *kâm* "desire," and thus means "I wish to do," etc. Thus *kerâva* "I do," *kamakerâva* "I will do," i.e. "I wish to do." The prefixed word does not vary for number or person. This method of forming the future is, as Paspatis (p. 101) points out, borrowed from modern Greek, in which $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ contracted to $\theta\grave{\epsilon}$ and $\theta\grave{\alpha}$, is used in this way, as $\theta\grave{\alpha}$ *ἰπάγω* "I will go." There is nothing strictly analogous to this method in our seven languages, though the futures of the *ga* and *la* types are formed on a not very dissimilar principle.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMPOUND TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 58. DEFINITION OF THE COMPOUND TENSES AND AUXILIARY VERBS.—§ 59. THE ROOT *AS*, PRESENT TENSE.—§ 60. IMPERFECT IN PANJABI AND GIPSY.—§ 61. *AS* WITH A NEGATIVE.—§ 62. COMPOUND TENSES FORMED WITH *AS*.—§ 63. THE ROOT *ACHH*; DISCUSSION AS TO ITS ORIGIN.—§ 64. TENSES DERIVED THEREFROM.—§ 65. COMPOUND TENSES FORMED THEREWITH.—§ 66. *BHŪ*;—THE SIMPLE TENSES.—§ 67. *id.*;—THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.—§ 68. COMPOUND TENSES FORMED THEREWITH.—§ 69. *STHĀ*.—§ 70. *YĀ*.—§ 71. ANCILLARY VERBS DEFINED.—§ 72. EXAMPLES OF ANCILLARIES.

§ 58. FURTHER removed from the old synthetical type than either of the preceding classes of tenses is that class which now comes under discussion. It is by means of this class that the seven modern languages, after having rejected the numerous and complicated formations of the Sanskrit verb, have secured for themselves the machinery necessary for the expression of very delicate shades of meaning. So numerous, indeed, are these shades of meaning, and so fine are the distinctions between them, that it is very difficult for a foreigner to catch them.

The tenses in question are constructed by adding to the participles already mentioned various tenses of certain auxiliary verbs, and in a few instances by adding these auxiliaries to the simple present, or aorist. The auxiliaries themselves are modern formations capable of being used alone, and are traceable to well-known Sanskrit roots through processes partly Prakritic and partly post-Prakritic. Pali and the Prakrits carry the verbs in question through certain grades of change,

and the modern languages either preserve the Prakrit form unchanged, or subject it to further changes of their own, such changes being often governed by laws unknown to the Prakrit stage of development.

The roots so employed are √ अस्, √ भू, √ खा, √ या, and another, whose origin is somewhat obscure in Sanskrit, but which appears in Prakrit under the form अष्. It will be necessary first to examine each of these roots and draw out the modern forms to be affiliated to each, after which the tenses formed by them may be arranged in order.

§ 59. *As*. This root means "to be," and is the simple copula like Latin *esse* (see under *sthā* in § 12). Only the present tense can be clearly traced in the modern languages, though there are some detached fragments here and there which may possibly represent other tenses. These will be noted further on. In Sanskrit the root belongs to the second or *ad* conjugation, in which the terminations are added direct to the root, thus giving rise to various euphonic changes in accordance with the laws of Sandhi. Pali and the scenic Prakrits, in contradiction to their usual practice of employing the *bhū* type for all roots, retain in this verb the *ad* type. Omitting the dual, the tense runs—

Skr.	Sing. 1. asmi,	2. asi,	3. asti.
"	Pl. 1. smaḥ,	2. stha,	3. santi.
Pa. and Pr.	{ Sing. 1. asmi,	2. asi,	3. atthi.
"	{ Pl. 1. asma,	2. attha,	3. santi.
	amha.		

In Prakrit the initial vowel is often elided as *'mhi*, *'mha*. These forms, however, belong to the scenic Prakrit, which, as Pischel has shown, is really almost as artificial a language as Sanskrit, and on comparing the corresponding tense in the modern languages, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to derive it from the scenic forms. We are not justified in assuming

that the modern tense was derived, according to different phonetic laws, from those which have guided and effected the transformations of other words in these languages. On the contrary, in the absence of a continuous chain of documents exhibiting the gradual changes that have taken place, we have nothing to guide us but the general principles of phonetic evolution, which we have been able to formulate for ourselves from undoubted instances. We have numerous well-established cases in which the Prakrit, followed by the moderns, has conjugated a verb according to the *bhū* type, though in classical Sanskrit it follows some other conjugation; indeed, it may, I think, be considered as proved that the forms of the *bhū* conjugation have swallowed up all other conjugational types, just as much as those of the *as* stem in nouns have driven out all other declensional forms. In this view there would be strong reasons for postulating the existence of a present tense of √अस् conjugated after the *bhū* type, thus—

Sing. 1. asāmi,	2. asasi,	3. asati.
Pl. 1. asāmaḥ,	2. asatha,	3. asanti.

It is only from such a form as this, the existence of which, though I am not aware of any text in which it is found, may fairly be inferred from analogy, that the modern forms can, in accordance with the ordinary laws of development, be derived.

Beginning with Sindhi as the most archaic, or nearly so, this tense runs thus—

Sing. 1. जाहियाँ,	2. जाहें, जाहीं,	3. जाहे.
Pl. 1. जाहियूं,	2. जाहियो.	3. जाहिनि.

Now, barring the troublesome superfluity of *anunāsikas* which the Sindhians have seen fit to bestow on this aorist, the forms are strikingly similar to those of the Sanskrit tense postulated above. The 3 sing. *ahē* is contracted from *ahaī*, which, again, is good Prakrit for *asati*, but it could hardly be deduced from *asti*, which, as we have seen, naturally results in

Prakrit *atthi*. The terminations of the other persons agree with those of the aorist of the active verb given in § 33, and those are obviously and admittedly derived from the terminations of the *bhū* type. I am unable to account for the peculiarity of this tense using the forms of the active verb, where we should naturally have expected those of the neuter, **आही**, etc. like **हवा**, etc. Trumpp does not notice this point, and as I am not in possession of any documents in mediæval Sindhi, I have no materials on which to form an opinion. It is to be hoped that the learned author, in the next edition of his very valuable grammar, will furnish some elucidation of this curious anomaly. This tense is all that remains to us in Sindhi of the Sanskrit substantive verb *as*.

Only the aorist, also, has survived in Marathi, which has—

Sing. 1.	आहिं.	2.	आहेस	3.	आहे.
Pl. 1.	आहों	2.	आहां.	3.	आहेत.

These are the regular terminations of the aorist in the neuter verb, only the 1 plural differs slightly, having **आं** instead of **आं**. In M., as in S., the initial vowel is lengthened, the reason for which is not obvious, as there has been no loss of consonants requiring compensatory lengthening. M., like S., has only this one tense from *as*. No traces of it are found in G. or O., except in a negative form, which will be treated of in the next section.

Hindi and Panjabi agree very closely in the aorist. Classical Hindi represents, however, a modern development of this tense. In the mediæval writers, and in the present dialects of the eastern and central Hindi area, the older form is preserved thus—

	SINGULAR.		
Old-H.	1. अहं	2. अहि	3. अहि
Avadhī.	1. अहं	2. अहेस	3. अहे
Riwāī.	1. हं, आ	2. हे	3. हे, आ

	PLURAL.		
Old-H.	1. चाहिं	2. चाहउ	3. चाहिं
Avadhī.	1. चही	2. चहें, चही	3. चहें
Riwāf.	1. हें	2. चहेन, ही	3. चहेन चहें चां.

The 3 singular in the poets is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, the last *h*, as in Kabir कृतिया सुच लोक एक चहू "There is one line of duty in the world" (Ram. lvi. 1), or written as a dissyllabic word, as राम नाम चहै निज साहू ॥ "The name of Ram is itself the true one" (*ib.* lxiv. 5), or with long *i*; metri gratia, धर्म कहे सब पानी चहरी ॥ "Religion, he saith, is all (one like) water" (*ib.* lxxiii. 5). The 1 singular occurs in रहऊ संभारे राम विचारे कहत चहीं (for चहउं) जो पुकार हो ॥ "Pause and attend, ponder on Ram, thus *I am* calling aloud, oh!" (*ib.* Kah. 7). So also in Tulsi Das, तसि मति फिरी चहू असि भावी ॥ "Thus her mind is changed as fate decrees" (Ay-k. 117), राम चराचर नायक चहहीं ॥ "Ram is lord of things moveable and immoveable" (*ib.* 445), विधि करतव उलटे सब चहहीं "The laws of duty are all reversed" (*ib.* 617), सुगम सकल मन तुम्ह कऊं चहहीं "All roads are easy to thee" (*ib.* 574).

By aphæresis of the initial *a* we get the ordinary classical Hindi tense—

Sing. 1. हौं, हं, 2. हू, 3. हू. Pl. 1. हें, 2. हो, 3. हें.

The classical language uses हं in the 1 sing., but हौं is used in the poets, in Braj, and in the rustic dialects. Between हौं, used as a singular, and हें, used as a plural, there is the same confusion as in the same persons of the aorist in the ordinary verb (§ 33). The form हौं seems to belong more naturally to a Pr. *ahāmu*, and हें to *ahāmi*, and we are led to suspect that an inversion of the two words has taken place. Avadhī 2 sing. *ahes* has, like M., a variant *ahas*, both of which lead back to an older *ahasi*, just as 3 sing. *ahai* does to *ahati*. It is obvious that had \sqrt{as} not been treated as a *bhū* verb, there would have

arisen no such types as *ahai* and *hai*; for *asti* goes into *atthi*, which would have led to something very different.

Panjabi closely follows H., having—

Sing. 1. हाँ, 2. है, 3. है. Pl. 1. हाँ, 2. हो, 3. हन.

It has also, as noticed in § 54, a form of this tense with the participial addition *ना m.*, *नी f.*, etc., as—

Sing. 1. हाँना, 2. हैना, 3. हैना,
Pl. 1. हाने, 2. होने, 3. हाने "I am," etc.,

where the type of the future is mixed up with that of the present. I have heard this form used mostly at the end of a sentence, where the speaker seems to hesitate, as if he felt the want of something more to say, and ultimately adds a *gd.* It is also used doubtfully, as when you suggest a possible explanation of some difficulty, and your companion answers "well, perhaps it is so"—हैना.

The same form occurs in the Kanauji dialect of Hindi.

The present of this verb in the dialect of the Rumilian Gipsies (Paspatis, p. 80) adheres more closely to the Sanskrit. It runs thus—

Sing. 1. isóm, 2. isán, 3. isí.
Pl. 1. isám, 2. isán, 3. isí.

§ 60. Panjabi has also an imperfect in a great many forms which must apparently be affiliated to this root. First there is a purely participial form—

Sing. 1, 2, 3, सा *m.*, सी *f.*
Pl. से *m.*, सीसाँ *f.*, "I, thou, he was," etc.

Then *ना* is added as in the present, giving *साना*, *सीनी*, *सेने*, *सीनीसाँ*. I do not remember ever to have heard this form, but it is given in the Ludhiana grammar. One often hears *सी*, which is properly feminine singular, used for the mascu-

line singular, and plural also. Moreover, there is a defective form having only some of the persons, which looks somewhat inflectional. The singular 2 and 3, and plural 2, are supplied by parts of **आ**.

Sing. 1. **सां**. Pl. 1. **सां**. 3. **सन्, सैन्**.

To this, also, is added **ना**, thus

Sing. 1. **सांगा m., सांगी f.**

Pl. 1. **साने m., सांगीचां f.** 3. **सगने m., सगगीचां f.**

Yet another and extremely common form in colloquial usage prefixes **ई** to this type—

Sing. 1. **ईसां**. 2, 3. **ईसी**.

Pl. 1, 2. **ईसे m., ईसीचां f.** 3. **ईसन्**.

Most of these forms are dialectic, and, as such, in use only in certain parts of the country. The participial form given first is probably the original; seeing how much the past tenses of the Sanskrit verb had fallen out of use at an early period, we are, perhaps, hardly justified in looking for anything but a participial origin for a modern past tense, and in this view we might postulate a p.p.p. *asita*. On the other hand, however, it so happens that the imperfect of *as* is one of the few imperfects of Skr. verbs, which did live on into the Pali and Prakrit, and the inflectional form of this tense can be phonetically derived therefrom, thus—

Skr. Sing. 1. **आसं**. 2. **आसीः**. 3. **आसीत्**.

Pl. 1. **आसन्**, 2. **आसथ**, 3. **आसन्**.

Pr. Sing. 1. **सां**, 2. **सी**, 3. **सी**.

Pl. 1. **सां**, — 3. **सन्**.

If we take this view it would seem that the tense was originally inflectional, but that all other verbs in the language having a participial construction, this also was, by the common

process of mistaken analogy, considered participial also, and *ई* being the ordinary termination of the feminine, *सी* was erroneously taken for a feminine, and a masculine *सा* was invented to suit it, together with the plurals *से* and *सीसा*. This reasoning will account also for the fact that *सी* is often used for the masculine singular. Whether the origin of this multiform tense be participial or inflectional, it is abundantly clear that the present usage of the language presents a maze of confused forms, which, their origin having been forgotten, have become mixed together in great variety.

Here, I would provisionally refer the imperfect in the Braj dialect of Hindi, which is participial in form, and does not vary for person. It is sing. *हो* *m.*, *ही* *f.*, pl. *हे* *m.*, *हीं* *f.* A variation of this form in Western Rajputana (*Mārṅwār*) has sing. *हो*, pl. *हा*. I think we must see in this form a p.p.p. of *as*, with loss of the initial vowel, and change of *स* into *ह*.

So, also, here would, on the same principle, come in two preterites or rather imperfects—

Kanauji. Sing. *हतो* *m.*, *हती* *f.*

Pl. *हते* *m.*, *हती* *f.*, "I, etc., was."

Gujarati. Sing. *हतो* *m.*, *हती* *f.*, *हतुं* *n.*

Pl. *हता* *m.*, *हती* *f.*, *हतां* *n. id.*

which appear to come from Pr. present participle *संतो* "being." The change of meaning from a present to an imperfect has an analogy in the treatment of the corresponding tense of the verb *ho* (§ 67).

The Gipsy language has retained an imperfect of this root, not directly derived from the Skr. imperfect, but formed by the addition of the syllable *as* to the present.¹

Sing. 1. *isómas*, 2. *isánas*, 3. *isás* (*isí*+*as*).

Pl. 1. *isámas*, 2. *isánas*, 3. *isás*.

¹ Paspatis, p. 80. Miklosich, vol. ii. p. 15, has a long dissertation on the subject, which, however, is very confused and bewildering to read.

This language uniformly makes an imperfect from every root by adding *as* to the present, but the process is so foreign to our Indian languages as to have no interest for us in the present inquiry.

§ 61. The derivatives of *as* in the present tense are in some languages curiously bound up with the negative into a tense which exists in those languages in which there is no trace of the positive form. Thus Oriya, which has no positive present *as*, has a complete negative present, "I am not, etc."

Sing. 1. नुहै,	2. नुह,	3. नुहै.
Pl. 1. नाऊँ,	2. नाह,	3. नाहान्ति.

Here the *u* in the first syllable of the singular is due to some confusion with the tense of *bhú*, to be noted hereafter; but though this form is common in writing, the peasantry often say simply नुहै, "he is not." The insertion of this *u* is accounted for by supposing it to have slipped over from the following syllable, thus, *nuhe* would be for *na hue*, and *nuhanti* for *na huanti*. *Nuanti*, and not *nâhânti*, is the older form, as in—

करुणा हृदय नुहन्ति निरदय ।

"Merciful-hearted *they are not*, but pitiless."—Rasak. vi. 18.

There being in O. no positive present from *as*, the survival of the negative present has naturally been accounted for by referring it to the only positive present remaining, namely, that from *bhú*; but this seems to be a false analogy, because, as will be shown later on, in many constructions the negative is used without the *u*, and is generally so used by the rustic classes.

G. has नथी for all persons of both tenses, they say ऊँ नथी "I am not," तू नथी "thou art not," ते नथी "he is not." This is a case of forgetfulness of the origin of a word leading to its use being extended to cases where it has no right to be, for

नथी is clearly derived from नत्थि, the Pr. form of नत्थि with न prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing.

The negative of *as* is kept distinct from that of *bhū* in Marathi, the former runs thus—

Sing. 1. नाही, 2. नाहीस, 3. नाही. Pl. 1, 2. नाही, 3. नाहीत.

In Hindi नहि and नहीं are used to mean simply “not,” and if they ever had any verbal meaning, have now quite lost it. In Sindhi the negative prefixed merely coalesces with it, without in any way influencing it, or bringing about any change in its form ; thus नाहे or नआहे “he is not.”

§ 62. The present tense from *as* is added to the simple and participial tenses of the neuter, active, or causal stem, to form a class of compound tenses, having significations somewhat more definite than the participial tenses when used alone. In some cases, however, no additional strength of meaning seems to be gained. In the following examples it will suffice to quote the 3 singular in each tense, from which the reader can form the rest for himself.

Hindi adds the present of *as* to the present and past participles of the ordinary verb, to form a definite present and definite preterite respectively, as—

Def. Present देखता है “he is seeing.”

Def. Preterite दखा है “he has seen.”

Colloquially, also, one sometimes hears a tense formed from the aorist of the verb, and that of the auxiliary, as आवे है “he comes.” This usage prevails more in the Western Hindi area, where the language is transitional to Gujarati, and is not approved of in classical speech.¹

¹ Kellogg, p. 206.

Panjabi has the following :—

Def. Present	जादा है " he is going."
Def. Imperfect	जादा सा " he was going."
Def. Preterite	गिआ है " he has gone."
Pluperfect	गिआ सा " he had gone."

Sindhi has, like Hindi, the two definite tenses :—

Def. Present	हजंदो आहे " he is going."
Def. Preterite	हजिओ आहे " he has gone."

Marathi has a wider range ; it forms two separate tenses, one from the indeclinable, another from the declinable form of its present participle, a definite perfect from its past participle, and a sort of future with its noun of agency (§ 75). In the last-named instance, however, we have hardly a tense, but rather a participial construction—

Def. Present	लिहित आहे " he is writing."
„ (Emphatic)	लिहितो आहे " he is writing."
Def. Preterite	लिहिला आहे " he has written."
Future	लिहियार आहे " he is about to write."

The other languages having no traces of this auxiliary, naturally have no tenses formed by it.

§ 63. *ACHH.* This root must be taken next, in order to preserve the natural sequence of tenses in the modern verbs. It has been customary hitherto to accept without inquiry the assumption that the auxiliaries of this form are derived from *as* ; but there are considerable difficulties in the way of admitting this view, which appears, as far as I can trace it back, to have arisen from Vararuchi, xii. 19 (*Śauraseni*), *asterachchha*. But the next sūtra gives *tipātthi*, as far as we can see from the very corrupt state of the text, and the parallel passage from the Sankshipta Sāra (Lassen, App. p. 51) gives only *atthi*,

though fragments of a present tense *achchhāi*, etc., are quoted by Lassen (p. 346) from the latter authority. By his reference to p. 266, the author would seem to favour a derivation from *asti* by inversion *atsi*, as *ts* we know (Vol. I. p. 317) migrates into *ṣ*, but this will not account for the other persons of the tense.

It does not, however, follow that Vararuchi, in quoting *achchh* as an equivalent for *as*, ever meant that the former was phonetically evolved from the latter. He is merely giving us the popular equivalent of the classical word. Just in the same way he tells us (viii. 68) that *vutta* and *khuppa* are used for Skr. *masj*, but no one supposes that *vutta* can, by any known process of phonetic change, be derived from *masj*. It is simply a popular word used instead of a refined one. So, also, when he tells us that *achchh* is used instead of *as*, we are not bound to believe that he means to say that the former is derived from the latter, but simply that it is in use side by side with it. Hemachandra, in the same way, gives many popular equivalents of Skr. roots, which are not derivatives from those roots.

Weber, Hala, p. 41, rejects, and with justice, the idea of any connection between the two words, and suggests that *acch* is a form of *gach* (√ gam), "to go." This view is supported by citations from the Bhāgavati (i. 411, etc.), as e.g. *acchejja vā citthejja vā nisteyya vā uyaṭṭejja*, "Let him go, or stand, or sit down, or rise up." In the examples quoted from the Saptasatakam, however, the word bears more often the opposite meaning of standing still; and often may be rendered by either one or the other; thus—

tuppānaṅā kino ac-
chasi tti ia pucchiāi vahuāi.—Sapt. 291.

Here Weber translates, "Why goest thou with anointed face?" but the scholiast has *kim tishṭhasi*, "why standest thou?" The general meaning of the passage is merely "why art thou" thus, i.e. "why have you got your face anointed?" So in 344,

asamattamanorahaim acchanti mithunaim, it must be rendered, "They are (or stand) with their desires unfulfilled." In another passage, 169, it has still more unmistakeably the meaning of *stay* :

acchāi tāva maṇaharam
piyāi muhadamsaṇaṃ aimahaggham
taggāmachettasimā
vi jhatti diṭṭha suhāvei,

literally, "Let stand (or let be) the heart-entrancing, very precious sight of the face of my love, even the boundary of the fields of her village, when seen, straightway delights." He means a sort of hyperbole, as we might say, "Her face delights, said I? not her face merely—(or, let alone her face)—why even the sight of the village where she lives delights." Here *acchāi* is 3 singular imperative; the idiom is in common use in modern speech; thus in O. they would say *tāku dekhībā thāū, tāhār grām sīmā madhya dekhībā ānand ate*, "Let the seeing of her stand aside, the seeing of her village boundary merely is delight." It is like the use of the word *alam* in Sanskrit. Parallel to the use of O. च्च in this construction is that of च्चक in B. Thus, Bhârat Chandra—

उपोषे उपोषे लोक ईक्ष मृत प्राय ।

चाकुक् चन्नैर कथा चल नाहि पाय ।

"From long fasting the folk were nearly dead,

Let alone food, they could not (even) get water."—Mânsingh, 446.

Literally, "Let the matter of food *stand* (aside)," see § 69. In the Chingana or Gipsy also *ach* means "to remain," "to stand." Thus, *opré pirende achāva*, "I stand on my feet," or simply, "I stand," Paspati "se tenir debout;" *achilo korkoro* "he remained alone," *ate achilom* "here I am," literally "here I have remained;" *achen devlēsa* "remain with God," "good-bye" (*i.e.* "God be with ye"), Pasp. "Salutation très-commune parmi les Tchingianés."

Not to multiply examples, the use of this verb in a sense which, whatever its original meaning, has become almost equivalent to that of "being," is well established in the Jaina Prakrit and in Hāla. The aphæresis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prakrit it is confined almost entirely to the root ॥ (jāna), as in *āṇḍsi = jāṇḍsi*, *āṇabedi = jāṇḍapayati*, etc. Also in *uno = punaḥ*, and a few other words.

But I would suggest that this word may after all be nothing more than a form of Skr. √अक्ष् *akṣh*, "to appear." This root seems to have borne in Skr. rather the meaning of "to reach, pervade" (see Williams's Dict. s.v.), but if we are to connect with it अक्षि "eye," as seems probable, the meaning of "to see," or "to appear," would be natural to it. It will be shown presently that the various languages have forms ending in ॥, स, and ख, and all these three forms phonetically point to an earlier ॥.¹

Leaving Prakrit scholars to decide whence comes this stem अक् or अक् (Weber writes it in both ways), we may, I think, start from the fact that there is such a stem in Prakrit, and we have the opinion of a high authority for disputing its connection with अस्. Indeed, as has already been shown, अस् so regularly passes into अक् in the moderns, that it is difficult to conceive by what process it could ever have become अक्. I

¹ Hemachandra's evidence seems conclusive against any connection between *akṣ* and *gam*, for he has a sūtra to the effect that words of the class *gam* take the termination *cha*; the list consists of the four words *gacchāi* (*gam*), *icchāi* (*ish*), *jacchāi* (*yam*), and *acchāi* (?).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 215. If *acchāi* were only *gacchāi*, with loss of the initial consonant, it would hardly be given as a separate instance of the rule. In another passage occurs a use of this word exactly similar to that from Hala quoted above—

jāmahiṃ visamf kajjagāi jīvaham majjhe ei
tāmahiṃ acchāū iaru jaṇu suaṇu vi antarudei,

"As long as [your] circumstances in life go badly (literally 'as long as a difficult condition of affairs goes in life'), so long, *let alone* (*acchāū*) the base man, even the good man keeps aloof (literally 'gives an interval')," "Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris." *Kajjagāi* = *kāryagati*, *iaru* = *itara*.

have preferred to treat it as a separate stem altogether, and I think this treatment will be found to be to a very great extent justified by the examples from the modern languages which I shall now adduce.

§ 64. Classical Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi, do not retain any traces of this root. M. has, however, a complete verb **अस्**, which we should refer, I think, to this root, resting on the well-known peculiarity of M., by which it changes **अस्**, especially when derived from an earlier **अ**, into **अस** (Vol. I. p. 218). The Sanskrit \sqrt{as} having in M. become *dhe*, an affiliation concerning which there can be no doubt, we are driven to seek for a different origin for M. *ase*, and we find it appropriately and in full accordance with known phonetic processes in **अस्**. M. has the following tenses:—

1. Aorist—

Sing. 1. असें,	2. असस,	3. असे,
Pl. 1. असूं,	2. असां,	3. असत,

where the terminations exactly correspond with those of the aorist in the ordinary verb.

2. Simple imperative—

Sing. 1. असूं,	2. अस, ऐस,	3. असो.
Pl. 1. असूं,	2. असा,	3. असोत.

3. Simple future—

Sing. 1. असेन,	2. अससीस,	3. असेस.
Pl. 1. असूं,	2. असास,	3. असतोस.

4. Present formed with present participle and Sanskrit substantive verb—

Masc. Sing. 1. असतों,	2. असतोस,	3. असतो.
Pl. 1. असतों,	2. असतां,	3. असतात.

5. Conditional similarly formed. Sing. 3 masc. **असता**, etc., as in the ordinary verb.

6. Preterite formed with p.p.p. similar to conditional. Sing. 3 masc. **असता**, etc.

7. Subjunctive formed with future p.p. Sing. 3 masc. **असावा**, etc.

Oriya comes next, with an aorist of old simple present only, which is thus conjugated—

Sing. 1.	अहि ,	2. अहु ,	3. अहि .
Pl. 1.	अहुं ,	2. अह ,	3. अहिना .

There being no formation from \sqrt{as} in O., this tense does duty for the simple “I am, thou art,” etc. With lengthening of the first vowel, in accordance with its usual practice, Bengali has a present, and an imperfect; but in modern times the initial long vowel of the latter has been entirely dropped, so that we now have—

Present	Sing. 1.	आहि ,	2. आहिस ,	3. आहे “I am,” etc.
	Pl. 1.	आहि ,	2. आह ,	3. आहेन .
Imperfect	Sing. 1.	हिनु ,	2. हिलि ,	3. हिल “I was,” etc.
	Pl. 1.	हिलाम् ,	2. हिला ,	3. हिलेन् .

Though used as an imperfect, this latter tense is in form a preterite, corresponding to *dekhinu*, etc., of the regular verb. The loss of the initial *h* is comparatively recent, for it is retained in so late a poet as Bhârat Chandra (A.D. 1711–1755). **आहिल बिसर टाट प्रथम बयेसे** “She was (*i.e.* had been) very wanton in her youth” (Bidya-S. 246). It is common enough, also, in the other Bengali poets, **जे ताव बेताव सिद्ध आहिल तोमार** “What vicissitudes were experienced by you” (Kasi-M. 284), and the poets of the present day freely permit themselves the use of this form as a poetic licence when their metre requires it.

Passing westwards from Bengal, we come to the extreme

eastern limits of Hindi, in the Maithila province (Tirhut, Purnia, etc.), where the rustic dialect has the following present:

Sing. 1. हूँ, 2. हू, 3. है. Pl. 1. हूँ, 2. हूँ, 3. हैं.

It has also a feminine singular ह्यी, plural ह्यीं, uninflected for person.

Close to the Bengali frontier, near the junction of the Mahanandâ and Kankai rivers, they speak a curious sort of mixture of Hindi and Bengali, and have a present—

Sing. 1. ह्यि, 2. ह्यिस, 3. ह्यर. Pl. 1. ह्यि, 2. ह्यें, 3. ह्ये.

Further west, in the same district, one hears—

Sing. 1. ह्यी, 2. ह्यं, 3. ह्यर. Pl. 1. ह्यि, 2. ह्यीं, 3. ह्यार.

In Bhojpuri, for the present is often heard ह्ये, which is unchanged throughout both persons. This widely-used form seems to confirm the supposition of the derivation from चच्, for च changes both to च्छ and to च्च.

From the Himalayan districts of Kumâon and Garhwâl, Kellogg (p. 201) gives a present of this verb, and it is in use in Eastern Rajputana. It is also the ordinary substantive verb in Gujarati—

SINGULAR.

Kumâon.	1. ह्यीं, हूँ	2. ह्ये	3. ह्य.
Garhwâl.	1. ह्यीं	2. ह्य, ह्ये	3. ह्य.
E. Rajputana.	1. हूँ	2. ह्ये	3. ह्ये.
Gujarati.	1. हूँ	2. ह्ये	3. ह्ये.

PLURAL.

Kumâon.	1. ह्यूँ, ह्यीं	2. ह्यार	3. ह्यन, ह्यीं.
Garhwâl.	1. ह्यीं, ह्यवाऊ	2. ह्यन, ह्ययार	3. ह्यन.
E. Rajputana.	1. ह्यीं	2. ह्यो	3. ह्ये.
Gujarati.	1. ह्यरये	2. ह्यो	3. ह्ये.

The first and third of these have also a preterite participle

in type like most of the preterites. Thus in Kumāon they say sing. **द्वियो**, pl. **द्विया** or **द्विया**, which seems to point to a Skr. p.p.p. **अषित** = Pr. **अद्वियो**. In Eastern Rajputana there is sing. **हो**, pl. **हा**.

Although modern classical Hindi does not use this root, yet it is found with the initial vowel in the shape of an indeclinable present participle in the old poets, as in Tulsī's Ramayan—

आप अरुत कुवराज पद रामहि देउ नरेस

“Thyself remaining, give the heir-apparntship to Ram, O king!”
—Ay-k. 11.

That is, “during thy lifetime,” literally “thou being.” The dictionary-writers erroneously give this as a Tadbhava from **अषत**, with which it has nothing to do.

It is worthy of consideration whether the forms of the imperfect in P. given in § 60 should not be referred to this root rather than to *as*. The change of **ह** into **स** so characteristic of M. would thus find a parallel in Panjabi.

Gujarati has also a present participle indeclinable **हता** and **हते** “(in) being,” and declinable **हती** *m.*, **ती** *f.*, **तुं** *n.*; pl. **हता** *m.*, **ती** *f.*, **तां** *n.* “being.”

§ 65. The compound tenses formed by the addition of this auxiliary are most numerous, as might be expected, in Marathi, that language having a larger range of tenses of the auxiliary itself than the sister-tongues. First, a present habitual is formed by adding the present of the auxiliary to the present participle of the verb, as **राहत असतो** “he is living,” *i.e.* “he habitually resides,” **लिहीत असतो** “I am (always employed in) writing.”

Next, a past habitual, by adding the aorist of the auxiliary to the present tense, as **बसत असे** “he was in the habit of sitting.” It will be remembered that in M. the aorist has the sense of a past habitual in modern times. This compound

tense seems to differ very little in meaning from the simple tense.

There is also a compound present of the conditional, wherein the leading verb is in the present participle and the auxiliary in the conditional present. It is used with **जर** "if" prefixed, either expressed or understood, as **जर काम करीत असता** "If he *were doing* the work," **पाऊस पडत असता** "(If) rain *were to fall* (as it is now falling)." The same tense of the auxiliary, when used with the past participle, serves as a conditional preterite, as **पडला असता** "he *would have fallen* (if, etc.)."

With the preterite of the auxiliary and the present participle of the leading verb is constructed a present dubitative, as **तो जात असला तर तें काम त्याला सांग** "If he *should be going*, then entrust this affair to him." Similarly, with the same part of the auxiliary and the past participle of the leading verb is made a past dubitative or pluperfect, as **तो आला असला तर** "Should he *have arrived*, then, etc."

So, also, with the future participle and the past auxiliary, as **जर तो जाणार असला तर मला सांग** "Should he *be about to go*, then tell me."

The future of the auxiliary also forms three tenses with the present, past, and future participles of the leading verb respectively. It is difficult to give these tenses any definite name; the senses in which they are employed will be seen from the following examples:—

1. Present participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

तुझा बाप तुम्ही वाट पाहत असेल "Your father *will be waiting* for you" (*i.e.* is probably now expecting you; *vāta pāhat*="looks at the road," idiomatic for "expects").

2. Past participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

तो आला असेल "He *will have come*" (*i.e.* "has probably arrived by this time").

3. Future participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

मी लिखिहार असेन "I may be now going to write" (*i.e.*
"I shall probably be writing presently").

The above is a fair illustration of the remark which I have frequently made before, that the modern verb, while throwing aside all the intricacies of the synthetical system of tenses, still manages to lose nothing of its power of expressing minute shades of meaning. On the contrary, by its almost unlimited power of forming compound tenses, it obtains a fullness and delicacy of expression, which even the synthetic verb cannot rival. Indeed, this fullness is at times somewhat embarrassing, for the subtle distinctions between one tense and another are very difficult to grasp, and, as might be expected, careless or uneducated speakers are unable to observe them accurately. The minute analysis of these various tenses belongs to the domain of syntax rather than to that of formlore, and a very long dissertation might be written upon the numerous shades of meaning involved in each one of them. The selection, for instance, of the different parts of the leading verb and auxiliary depends, to a great extent, upon the method of reasoning employed unconsciously by the speaker. These compound tenses are, in fact, rather phrases than tenses, and much depends upon whether the speaker regards the action as already past, or as actually being done with reference to the rest of the sentence. When we translate one of these phrases into English, or any other language, we do not really translate, but substitute our own way of expressing the idea for the native way. A literal word-for-word translation would be almost unintelligible. Thus, in the sentence above, *Rām jāt asalā, tar tē kām tyālā sāngā*, the words are actually, "Ram going was, then that affair to him tell," where the speaker, as it were, pictures to himself that his messenger, after receiving orders, goes to Ram and finds that he was just going, and therefore

tells him the affair. Complicated and of course unconscious undercurrents of thought like this underlie much of the elaborate mechanism of the compound tenses in all our seven languages, and we often find natives of India who can speak English composing in our language elaborate sentences of this sort, to the entire disregard of our English idioms, because they think in Hindi or Marathi, and then translate the idea into English. This fact, which all observant Englishmen who have lived long in India must have noticed, lies at the root of much of the difficulty which our countrymen experience in making themselves understood by natives. They think in English, and render word for word into Hindi or Marathi; thus probably producing a sentence which means something widely different from what they intended. It is the same with all foreign languages; until a man learns to *think* in the foreign language, and utter his thoughts in the shape that they have in his mind, he can never hope to speak idiomatically. In seeking to explain the compound tenses of the modern Indian verb, therefore, it is necessary to analyze the connection and sequence of mental impressions to which they owe their origin, a task for the metaphysician, and not for the student of comparative philology.

Gujarati has also a plethora of compound tenses, but they are less complicated than Marathi, perhaps because the language has been less cultivated. In the simpler languages delicate *nuances* of expression do not exist, and if one wishes to translate any such phrases into one of these simple languages, it must be done by a long string of sentences. Thus, in trying to exact from a wild forester of the Orissa hills an answer to the question, "Did you know that Ram had run away before you went home or afterwards?" one has to go to work in this way, "Ram fled?" Answer, *ho!* (Yes). "You knew that fact?" *ho!* "You went home?" *ho!* "When you reached home they told you 'Ram is fled,' thus?" answer *nâ! nâ!* (No! No!).

“When you did not go home, before that, they told you?”
ho! So to get out the meaning of the Marathi sentence quoted above, “If he should be going, then entrust this affair to him,” one would have to say, “Near him you having gone, he ‘I am now going’ having said, this word having heard this matter to him you will tell.” Perhaps in citing an Orissa wild man of the woods, I am taking an extreme case; but the remarks will hold good, more or less, for all the peasantry and lower classes all over India, and it must be remembered that the expression “lower classes” means in India eight-tenths of the whole population.

The compound tenses formed with the auxiliary **हे** in G. are the following :—

1. Definite present; aorist of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as **करे हे** “he does.”

Sometimes both verb and auxiliary lose their final vowel, as **कर ह** for **करे हे** “thou dost,” **करे ह** “he does.” **करो ह** for **हो** “ye do,” etc.

2. Definite preterite; p.p. of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as **दायो हे** “he has given,” active used in *karma* construction with instrumental of subject. **तेणे काम बजावेसुं हे** “he has performed the work;” neuter in *kartā*, as **ऊं चढ्यो कुं** “I have ascended.”

3. Another definite preterite with the second form of the p.p. in *elo*, as **चढेवो कुं** “I have ascended.” There seems to be no great difference of meaning between this and the last.

4. Definite future; future participle of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as **खानारो हे** “he is about to eat.”

5. Another tense with the second form of the fut. part. in *vāno*, as **ऊं करवानो कुं** “I am going to do.” The uninflected form of the future participle in *ār* may also be used, as **तुं सुं करनार हे** “What art thou going to do?” These definite futures differ from the simple future in implying intention and

definite purpose, much as in German *er will thun* differs from *er wird thun*.

The auxiliary **है** is sometimes also used after another auxiliary derived from *bhū*, as **होइतो होय है** "he is (now) loosing." Of the tenses so formed more will be said further on.

It seems from comparing the examples given of these tenses that there is not for each one of them a distinct special meaning, but that they are used somewhat vaguely, the auxiliary being added or omitted at pleasure. This is certainly the case in Hindi, as will be seen below; and in the poets, who are our only guides for the mediæval period, metrical necessities, rather than any desire to bring out a particular shade of meaning, appear to determine which form shall be used.

Those dialects of Hindi which possess tenses from this root, use them also as auxiliaries.¹ Eastern Rajputana has the definite present formed by the two aorists, that of the verb and that of the auxiliary, **मारुं हूँ** "I am beating," also a preterite composed of the p.p. of the verb and aorist of auxiliary, as **मारयो है** "I have beaten." There seems to be some anomaly in this latter, for in the preterite of the active verb **है** is added to all six persons, whereas, when used with the substantive verb **हो** "be," the auxiliary is participial sing. **हो**, pl. **हा**. Perhaps we hardly know enough of these rustic forms as yet to be able to draw accurate distinctions.

Garhwali forms its definite present from the present participle and the aorist **मारदो** (or **मारदू**) **हैं** "I am beating;" and its preterite in the same way from the p.p. and aorist **मारै ह** "he has beaten," **मारा हन** "they have beaten." So does Kumaoni, present **मारनु हूँ**, preterite **मारो ह**; but in these, also, there is still room for more accurate analysis, and a wider range of observations requires to be made in remote and little known parts of the country.

¹ Kellogg, Grammar, p. 240.

Bengali has four well-defined tenses. The definite present and imperfect are formed respectively by incorporating the aorist and imperfect of the auxiliary into one word with the locative case of the present participle, thus—

Def. Present देखিতেছি “I am seeing” (dekhite + áchhi).

Def. Imperfect देखিতেছিলাম “I was seeing” (dekhite + [á]chhinu).

In the latter of these tenses the 1 pl. has in ordinary speech to a great extent usurped the place of the 1 sing., and we more frequently hear—

देखितेছিলাম “I was seeing” (dekhite + [á]chhilám).

By incorporating the same tenses of the auxiliary into one word with the conjunctive participle (see § 73), it forms a definite preterite and a pluperfect, as

Def. Preterite देखিয়াছি “I have seen” (dekhiyá + áchhi).

Pluperfect देखিয়াছিলাম “I had seen” (dekhiyá + áchhinu).

Here, also, देखিয়াছিলাম is common for 1 sing. Wonderful corruptions occur in pronunciation in these tenses: छ loses its aspirate and becomes च, so that we hear for करितेছে a word that sounds *kôrche*, and may be written करचे, for होरतेছে “is” vulgo *hõche* (हचे), for देखियाছে *dekhiche* (देखिचे), and for देखियाছিলাম *dekhichilêm*, or *dekh'chilêm* (देखिचिलेम?). So also for चालितेছে “goes” *chalõche* (चलचे). These forms are freely used in conversation by educated persons, and some recent authors of comic novels and plays introduce them into the mouths of their characters. The same remark applies to all tenses of the verb, and it is a curious subject for speculation, whether the growth of literature will arrest the development of these forms, or whether they will succeed in forcing their way into the written language, and displace the longer and fuller forms now in use. If the latter event takes place, we shall see enacted before our eyes the process of simplifica-

tion which has been so fertile a cause of the formation of the present types in the whole neo-Aryan group. I anticipate, however, that the purists, aided by the conservative influence of a literature already copious, will ultimately carry the day against the colloquial forms.

Oriya has the four tenses corresponding to Bengali, but only two of them are formed with the auxiliary we are now discussing, the definite present and the definite preterite—

Def. Present **कर रहिँ** “I am doing” (pres. part. *karu* “doing”).

Def. Preterite **करि रहिँ** “I have done” (p.p. *kari* “done”).

Here, also, colloquially, the auxiliary is generally incorporated with the verb, and they say **करहिँ** and **करिहिँ** respectively. In the south of the province, also, the older form of the present participle in **उ** prevails, and one hears **करहि** “he is doing,” and contracted **उहि** “he is.”

§ 66. *BHŪ*. This widely-used root took as early as the Pali and Prakrit period the form *HO*; and in that form it has come down to modern times. As the ordinary substantive verb “to be,” it has a full range of tenses in all the languages, and it not only serves as an auxiliary, but takes to itself the tenses of the other auxiliaries like any other verb. In the latter capacity it need not here be discussed, as the remarks which have been made concerning the ordinary verbs will apply to this verb also.

Although *ho* is the general form of this root in all the Indian languages, yet there are one or two exceptions in which the initial *bh* is retained. In Pali, both *bhavati* and *hoti* are found for 3 sing. pres., *abhavā* and *ahuvā* impf., *bhavatu* and *hotu* impt., and in Sauraseni Prakrit we find *bhodu*=*bhavatu*, *bhavia*=*bhūtva*, and the like. Distinct traces of the retention of the *bh* are still in existence in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and in the old poets. In the latter, a p.p.p. sing. **भयी** *m.*, **भरी** *f.*, pl. **भए**, is extremely common, used alone as a preterite, or with the

verbal endings, as भवेत्, भवत्, etc. It is also contracted into भौ; and in the modern form भवा "was," may be heard commonly in the mouths of the lower orders all over the Hindi area of the present time. This form presupposes a Pr. भविसो = a Skr. भवित्, with elision of the व, and ष called in to fill up the hiatus. I give from Kellogg the dialectic forms (Gr. p. 236)—

SINGULAR.

Kanauji. ¹	1. 2. 3. भयो <i>m.</i> , भई <i>f.</i>		
Braj.	<i>id.</i> भयी <i>m.</i> , <i>id.</i>		
Old-Pûrbi.	1. भयउं <i>m.</i> , भा,	2. भयउ <i>m.</i>	3. भवउ <i>m.</i> , भा
	भरउं <i>f.</i>	भरु <i>f.</i>	भरु <i>f.</i>
Avadhi.	1. भयेउं <i>m.</i> , भवा,	2. भवेस <i>m.</i>	3. भवा, भवा <i>m.</i>
	भयिउं <i>f.</i>	भयिसि <i>f.</i>	भर, भै <i>f.</i>
Riwâi.	1. 2. 3. भा, भ.		
Bhojpuri.	1. भोइली, भैली,	2. भैल,	3. भैलस, भैल.

PLURAL.

Kanauji. ¹	1. 2. 3. भए <i>m.</i> , भई <i>f.</i> (also भये <i>m.</i>).		
Braj.	<i>id.</i>		
Old-Pûrbi.	1. भये, भे <i>m.</i>	2. भये, भयेऊ <i>m.</i>	3. भये, भे <i>m.</i>
	भई <i>f.</i>	भरु, भरुऊ <i>f.</i>	भरु <i>f.</i>
Avadhi.	1. भये <i>m.</i>	2. भये <i>m.</i>	3. भये <i>m.</i>
	भै <i>f.</i>	भयिउ <i>f.</i>	भयेनि <i>f.</i>
Riwâi.	1. 2. 3. मयेन, मयेन्ह.		
Bhojpuri.	1. भोइलीं, भैलीं,	2. भैलह,	3. भैलन्.

The verbal affixes are the same as those in the ordinary verb explained at § 33. Chand uses the same form as in Braj and

¹ Kanauji may be taken to mean the speech of the country between the Ganges and Jumna, the heart of the Hindi land; Braj, that of the right bank of the Jumna; Old-Pûrbi, of the country north of the Ganges from the Gandak river eastwards; Avadhi, that of Oudh (Avadh); Riwâi, of the country south of the Ganges and between the Chambal and the Son rivers. Braj and Old-Pûrbi are the dialects in use in the mediæval poets generally.

Kanauji, thus भयी कोटि तामस ताम ॥ “He *became* violently disturbed with anger” (Pr. R. i. 48), अनंगपाल भयी राज ॥ “Anangapâl *became* King” (iii. 17), पुत्र कथा ज्यों भई । सनी तुं कहौ अपुत्रह ॥ “How the former matter *happened*, listen while I tell the wonderful tale” (iii. 15), पुत्र होत भई मृत ॥ “While the son was being (born), she *became* dead” (i. 170), भए आदि अंत कविता जिते । “As many poems as *have been* (written) first and last” (i. 10), भए विकल लोग चारु उ ताप ॥ “The folk *became* distressed, (being) wounded and heated” (xxi. 5). Contracted मन भौ हास करन पुनि आर्य ॥ “Daughter *became* (arose) in her mind, then after pity came” (iii. 10). The use of this tense is so common in Chand as to supersede the other form of the preterite *हूआ* to a great extent.

A few examples may be added from Kabir: दुतिया नाम पारवति भयऊ । तप करता संकर को दयऊ ॥ “Her second name *was* Pârvati, the ascetic (*i.e.* Daksha) gave her to Śankara” (Ram. 26, 5), येके पुरुष येकही नारी । ततिं खनि घान भी चारी ॥ “One male (energy), one female, from them *were produced* four kinds of living beings” (*ib.* 6), एक अंड अँकार ते यह सब जन भयी पसार “From one egg, the word *Om*, all this world *has been created*” (*ib.* 8). In these three quotations all three forms of the participle are used side by side.

Tulsi Das does not confine himself to Old-Pûrbi forms, but uses, also, those classed above under Braj, as भयीं नहोरि भयी तेहि खारा “It filled again and thus *became* salt (*i.e.* the sea)” (Lanka-k. 3), सेतुबंध भर भीर अति । “The Setubandh *became* very crowded” (*ib.* 10). But the Pûrbi form is more common, as in माघ नार पूछत अस भयऊ “Bowling his head, thus he *was* asking” (Kis-k. 2), करि दंडवत कहत अस भयऊ “Making salutation, thus he *was* saying” (Ar-k. 259). The contracted form is also very common, as भे मन मुदित पाइ प्रिय साधू । “He *became* (or *was*) enraptured at meeting with the beloved” (Ay-k. 441).

Closely connected with the Bhojpuri भैल is the form भैल, used by the half-Bengali half-Maithil poet Bidyapati, as in शून भैल मन्दिर शून भैल नगरी ॥, शून भैल दशदिश शून भैल सगरी ॥ “Empty has become the temple, empty has become the city, empty have become the ten regions, empty has become everything!” (Pr. K.S. 118), कोकिल कसरवे मति भैल भोरा । “From the sound of the koil’s notes my mind has become distracted” (ib. 120). It does not vary for gender or person.

I am not aware of the existence in any of the other languages of this type with the initial *bh*. It is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, confined to the rustic Hindi dialects mentioned above. In all other respects Hindi keeps to the type *ho*, like the cognate languages.

The aorist has the following forms:—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Hindi.	1. होऊँ	2. होए	3. होए.	1. होएँ	2. होओ	3. होऐं.
P.	1. होवाँ	2. होविँ	3. होवे.	1. होवे	2. होवो	3. होख.
S.	1. ऊँचा	2. ऊँऐ	3. ऊँए.	1. ऊँ	2. ऊँओ	3. ऊँचनि.
G.	1. होउं	2. होय	3. होय.	1. होरवे	2. होओ	3. होय.
M.	1. होईँ	2. होरैस	3. होरै.	1. होऊँ	2. हूँ	3. होरैत.
O.	1. होएँ	2. हेउ	3. ऊँए.	1. हेउं	2. ऊँच	3. ऊँचति.
B.	1. हइ	2. हउ	3. हय.	1. हइ	2. हओ	3. हन.

In Hindi this tense, as mentioned before, is frequently used as a potential in all verbs, and especially so in *ho*, where, owing to the existence of an aorist with signification of “I am,” etc., from *as*, the tense derived from *ho* is more usually employed to mean “I may be.” The Pârbatia or Nepali dialect also uses this tense as a potential, thus—

Sing. 1. हौँ, 2. होस, 3. हो. Pl. 1. हौँ, 2. ही, 3. ऊन.

Several peculiarities call for notice in this tense. In classical Hindi there is the usual diversity of practice always observed in stems ending in *d* or *o*, as regards the method of joining the

terminations. Thus we have for 1 sing. **हो** in addition to **होख**; 2 and 3 sing. are written **होए**, **होय**, **होवे**, and **हो**; 1 and 3 pl. **होएँ**, **होय**, **होवें**, **हो**; 2 pl. **हो** as well as **होचो**, which makes it identical with the same person in the aorist of *as*.

Dialectically the chief peculiarity, which, like most dialectic forms, is merely an archaism preserved to modern times, consists in the hardening of the final *o* of *ho* into *e*. This is observable in the Rajputana dialects, and partially also in that of Riwá (Kellogg, p. 233).

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.			
Rajp. 1.	होख	2. हो	3. हो	1. होचो	2. होचो	3. हो.
Riwá.		2. होस	3. होय.		2. होव	3. होयं.

This peculiarity is more marked in the simple future noted below. It also occurs in M., where the aorist, as shown above, when used as a past habitual = "I used to be," takes the terminations of the active verb; but when used as a simple present, those of the neuter, as—

Sing. 1. होय 2. होस 3. होय. Pl. 1. होँ 2. हो 3. होत.

The same combination occurs throughout this tense when used negatively = "I am not," as—

Sing. 1. नहो 2. नहोस 3. नहो.
Pl. 1. नहोँ 2. नहो 3. नहोत (नहोत).

and in other parts of the verb affirmative and negative.

In Sindhi this root is throughout shortened to *hu*, and when the vowel is lengthened by the influence of affixes, it becomes *hú*, rarely *ho*, except in poetry, where 3 sing. **होइ** is met instead of **होए**. The *j*, which in some forms of Prakrit is inserted between the stem and its termination, appears here also, as—

Sing. 1. होजा 2. होजे 3. होजे. Pl. 1. होजू 2. होचो 3. होचनि.

Oriya sometimes shortens *o* to *u*, but in that language the distinction in pronunciation between these two vowels is so

slight that in writing also the people often confuse the two. In a great part of this verb, however, the *o* is changed to a very short *e*. This is generally, but not always, due to a following *i*, where, from the shortness and indistinctness of the *o*-sound, $o + i = a + i = ai = e$. Thus 2 sing. is in full होउ, though generally pronounced *ho*. In Bengali the *o* is generally written *a*, that vowel having in B. usually the sound of short, harsh *o*, like the *o* in English *not*, *rock*, etc. Thus it comes to pass that होय and हन may be regarded, either as shortened from होय and होन respectively, and thus derivable from *ho*, or as equivalents of H. हे and है, and so to be referred to *as*. In practice, certainly, the meaning in which they are used favours the latter hypothesis.

The imperative in H. is the same as the aorist, except 2 sing., which is simply हो "be thou." In the Rajput dialects the 2 sing. is ह्ये, 2 pl. होवो; the former occurs also in Chand as a 3 sing. in सब बोलि कह्यो ह्ये सिद्धि सिद्धि । "All speaking, said, 'May there be success, success!'" (i. 178) The Riwa dialect has 2 sing. झाव, 2 pl. झाव, like the present.

P. 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. होवो. S. has 2 sing. हो and होउ, 2 pl. हो and उओ. G. for 2 sing. and 2 pl. both हो.

M. Sing. 1.	होऊं	2. हो	3. होवो, होऊ.
O. „ 1.	ऊएँ	2. हो	3. हेउ.
B. „		2. होउ, हउ	3. हउक.
M. Pl. 1.	होऊं	2. झा	3. होवोत, होऊत.
O. „ 1.	हेउं	2. उओ	3. हेउंतु.
B. „		2. हउ	3. हउन्.

The respectful form of the imperative follows that of the other verbs in the various languages. H. here inserts ज, making होजिये "be pleased to be," G. होजे.

Nepali has somewhat abnormally 2 sing. हस, 2 pl. होस.

The simple future in G. is formed according to the usual

rule; but here again we meet the tendency so common in B. and O., to express the *o* sound by *a*, so that side by side with the regular forms होरैय, होये, etc., we have also sing. 1. हरैय, 2. हये, 3. हये; pl. 1. हरैयुं, 2. हयो, 3. हये, which we must apparently pronounce *hōish*, *hōshe*, etc.

The simple future in old and rustic Hindi is regularly formed, as होरहौं "I shall become," etc.; but in this tense the employment of the type है is very common, both in the poets and among the peasantry of the western area. Thus—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Braj.	1. हैहीं	2. हैहे	3. हैहे.	1. हैहै	2. हैहो	3. हैहे.
West Rajp.	1. हैहं	2. हैही	3. हैही.	1. हैहा	2. हैहो	3. हैही.

We have also the curious transitional form of East Rajputana which approaches so closely to G.—

Sing.	1. हैचू, हैसूं	2. हैसी	3. हैसी.
Pl.	1. हैसां, हैसां	2. हैसो, हैसो	3. हैसो.

Further details of these dialectic forms will be found in Kellogg's admirable grammar. When the wilder parts of the country, at present little known to Europeans, shall have been more fully explored, we may expect to obtain many finer gradations of transition; for all over India the Gujarati proverb holds true, "Every twelve *kos* language changes, as the leaves change on the trees."

The Braj form is interesting to students from the fact of this dialect having become at an early date the traditional literary vehicle of the Krishna-*cultus*, and thus to a certain extent a cultivated classical language. Its forms, however, are found in Chand long before the revival of Vaishnavism. He uses the full form होरहे, a shortened form होहि, and the Braj हैहे. Also occasionally होइ in a future sense, which is probably a form of the 3 sing. aorist for होए (हए). Examples are प्रसि होरहे तिन बंसह । "His race *shall become* extinct" (Pr.-R. iii.



29), होहि जदवनि सपुतह ॥ “The Jadavani *shall be* with child” (i. 249), दिवस पंच के अंतरि । होइ सु दिखी पति ॥ “In the space of five days, he *shall become* lord of Dilli” (iii. 411), ज्ञान नीर है न कोइ । “There has not been, and there *shall not be*, any (like him)” (i. 331).

To Tulsi Das, Kabir, Bihari Lal, and all the mediæval poets होइ, होइहि, होहि, and होई are the forms of the ordinary regular future; होग is very rarely met in their pages, if at all. Instances are, भये जे यहहिं जे होइहिं जाये । “They who have been, are, and shall be hereafter” (Tulsi, Ram. Bal-K. 30), होइहि यही कल्याण बन । “Now this good fortune will be (will happen)” (*ib.* 82), अब ते रति तव नाथ कर होइहि नाम अनङ्ग । “Henceforth, Rati, the name of thy lord shall be Ananga” (*ib.* 96). The form हैइ does not appear to be used by Tulsi Das, though in Bihari Lal the participle है is common; this latter poet's subject does not give much occasion for the use of the future. बड़रि जनम न होइ ताको “There shall not again be birth to him (he shall escape the pain of a second birth)” (Kabir, Ram. 57). In the majority of the poets the forms *hai* and *hoi* seem to be regarded as virtually the same, and they use indifferently the one or the other as it suits their metre. There is unfortunately as yet no critically prepared or corrected edition of the texts of any of them, and owing to the mistaken policy of the Government, by which artificial works written to order have been prescribed as examination tests, the genuine native authors have been entirely neglected.

§ 67. The participial tenses are formed as in the ordinary verb. The present participle is in Old-H. ज्वंत, as in Chand हसन ज्वंत निवारि “Laughing *being* prevented” (Pr.-R. i. 6). In modern H. the classical form is होता *m.*, होती *f.*, Braj होतु; and in most of the rustic dialects simply होत indeclinable. In the Rajputana dialects the form हैतो is found. The other languages have P. ज्दा, S. ज्दो, G. होतो, M. होत, होता,

होताना, O. हेच, B. होरते, though really the locative of a present participle is used as an infinitive.

The past participle is in H. one of the old Tadbhava class mentioned in §§ 46, 47, and as such takes its type from Skr. भूत, H. झपा. The vowel of the stem is in the present day commonly pronounced short उपा, and this practice is not uncommon in the poets. P. होरपा, S. उपो, G. होपो, होपो, होयलो.

M. has a strange participle झासा, which may be explained as phonetically resulting from an older form झासा, shortened from होयासा. I can trace nothing similar in any of the cognate languages, though the change from झ to झ is perfectly regular. In the poets a form जासा is found, and even जाहासा. These types have led some writers to regard this participle as derived from the root चा. This, however, is very doubtful. Tukaram always uses जा°, as आजि पुरखे नवस । धन्य जासा हा दिवस । “To-day our vows are heard, blessed *has become* (is) this day” (Abh. 508).

O. होर, हेसा, B. होरस, हरस.

The future participle is in M. झावा, O. हेव, B. हरव, contracted to हव (hōbō).

These participles serve as tenses, either with or without the remains of the old substantive verb, just as in the regular verb, and need not be more particularly illustrated.

One point, however, deserves a passing notice. The present participle in M. forms with the aid of the substantive verb as a regular present, as 3 sing. होतो *m.* होती *f.* होतें *n.* But the slightly different form of this tense, which in the ordinary verb (§ 42) expresses the conditional present, is in the case of *ho* employed as an imperfect. Thus, while the form just given, *hoto*, etc., means “he becomes,” the conditional form *hotā*, etc., means “he was.” This usage is analogous to that of the G. *hato*, etc., mentioned in § 59, and agrees with a form of preterite used in Braj Hindi, sing. उती *m.*, उती *f.* etc. It has been

suggested that this latter is derived from Skr. भूत; but against such a derivation must be set the fact that *bhūta* had at a very early epoch lost its *t* and become in Pr. *hūam*, *hoiam*, and the like; also that in Chand the *anuswāra* of the present participle is still preserved, as in **हुव उंतो हुवनिय भोर** । (Pr.-R. i. 49), “Brahman *became* to Brahman hostile;” and a few lines further on in the same passage **हव उंतो सिंगिच रिष्य** “There was one Śringa Rishi.”

§ 68. The tenses of the regular verb formed by the additions of parts of the verb *ho* are numerous, but vary in the different languages. In Hindi we have mostly tenses with a general sense of doubt or contingency, in which those compounded with the present participle run parallel to those formed with the past participle. Thus with **गिरता** “falling,” and **गिरा** “fallen” (*gir* “to fall”)—

1. **गिरता होऊँ** (aorist of *ho*) “I may be falling,” which may be called a definite present subjunctive or contingent; as in answer to a question **हमारे घर को जाते** “Are you going to my house?” one might answer **जाता होऊँ** “I may be going (but am not sure).”

2. **गिरता हूँगा** (future of *ho* shortened from **होऊँगा**) “I shall or must be falling,” a future contingent, or doubtful; as in asking **राम अबही जाता है** “Is Ram coming now?” the reply is, **हाँ जाता होगा** “Yes, he will be coming,” or, “he must be coming,” *i.e.* “I suppose he is now on his way here.”

3. **गिरता होता** “(If) I were falling,” conditional present definite. This is very rarely used, but it seems to denote a phase of action which could not, when occasion requires, be otherwise expressed. It may be illustrated thus: **राम यदि भागता होता तो मैं उसको रोकता** “If Ram were now running away, I would stop him” (but as he is not, there is no need for me to do so). It is the present participle of the auxiliary used in a conditional sense, as in the simple verb.

4. गिरा होऊं "I may have fallen." Also somewhat rare. In answer to तुम ने उसके नाम कबही सुना "Have you ever heard his name?" one might say सुना होऊं "I may have heard it" (but have now forgotten it).

5. गिरा हूँगा "I must or shall have fallen." This is a very commonly used tense. Thus ऊँचा होना is a frequent answer where a person is not sure, or does not care; and is almost equivalent to "I dare say," "very likely," "I shouldn't wonder." Also, it indicates some degree of certainty, as राम ने संवाद पाया है "Has Ram received the news?" Answer, पाया होगा "He will have received it," meaning "Oh yes, of course he has," or with a different inflection of voice, "I dare say he has."

6. गिरा होता "(If) I had fallen." Hardly ever used, except in a negative sentence. I do not remember to have heard it in conversation; though an analogous form with the participle of रह may be heard in eastern Hindi, as तुम यदि कल आए रहते "If you had come yesterday." The only instance Kellogg gives is apparently from a translation of the Bible (John xv. 22) जो मैं न आया होता उन का पाप न होता "If I had not come . . . they had not had sin."

Panjabi makes a somewhat different use of the tenses of *ho*. In this language *ho*, when used as an auxiliary, has rather the sense of continuance in an act, than that of doubt or contingency. Thus we find the ordinary definite present जाँदा है "He is going," side by side with a continuative present with *ho*, जाँदा ऊँदा है "He kept on going;" also, "He is in the habit of going." So, also, there is a continuative imperfect जाँदा ऊँदा सा "He kept on going," "He was always going." Similarly, there are two forms of the future, one with the simple future of *ho* (like No. 2 in Hindi given above) जाँदा होवेगा "He will probably be going," and a continuative form containing *ho* twice over, जाँदा ऊँदा होवेगा "He will probably be always going." Thus, to the question उह कितनाक़ चिर उवे

रहिंदा होवेगा "How long will he be stopping there?" the answer might be, उधे उह दा घर हे उह ता सदा सरबदा उधे रहिंदा ऊंदा होवेगा "His home is there, he will probably always be stopping there." With जे "if" prefixed, the tense जांदा ऊंदा means "If I were in the habit of going."

Parallel to the above are two tenses with the aorist of *ho*: जांदा होवा "I may be going," and with "if" prefixed, "If I should be going;" and जांदा ऊंदा होवा "I may be constantly going," "If I should be always going."

With the past participle they combine the present participle of *ho*, as रक्खिआ ऊंदा "I would have put," and conditionally, जे में रक्खिआ ऊंदा "If I had put," "If I should have put;" as in उह जे बपरिआ बणीए दे हत्य दिता ऊंदा ता सानुं मिलिआ ऊंदा "If he had given the money into the care (lit. hand) of the merchant, then we should have got it."

There is also a combination of the past tense with the aorist of *ho*, as जिआ होवे "He may have gone," or, "If he has (perchance) gone."

Colloquially, they frequently also insert होरआ pleonastically in phrases where it is difficult to attach to it any definite meaning. Thus उन बलिआ हे "he has sent," and बलिआ होरआ हे "he is having sent." In this latter phrase there is, perhaps, implied the idea of the action having been performed some time ago, and being still in force, so that it harmonizes with the generally continuative meaning of *ho* as an auxiliary in Panjabi. Also, though it is not noticed in the grammar, I remember having heard frequently this word *hoäd*, repeated probably for emphasis, as मारिआ होरआ होरआ "beaten" (repeatedly, or very much indeed).

In Sindhi the present and past participle are both compounded with the aorist of *ho* to form potentials, thus—1. हसंदो ऊए "he may be going;" 2. हसिओ ऊए "he may have gone." There does not appear to be in this language so strong a sense of doubt, or of continuance, in these combinations, as in

H. and P., probably because *ho* plays a more important part in S. than does *as*, which is represented by only one tense, or *achh*, which is not represented at all.

3. **हचंदो हो** "he was going." This is the present participle of the verb with the preterite of *ho*.

4. **हसिचो हो** "he had gone." The past participle with the same. These two are exactly parallel.

5. **हचंदो ऊंदो** "he will be going." Definite future, made up of present participle with future of *ho*.

6. **हसिचो ऊंदो** "he will have gone." Past future, the past participle with the same. These two are also exactly parallel.

In the passive phase of active verbs there are also six tenses formed by the same process, whereof 2, 4, and 6 are the same as in the active, or, in other words, these two tenses may be construed either actively or passively, according to the structure of the sentence. Trumpp gives them twice over, probably for this reason :

1. **हड़िचो ऊए** "he may be being released." Future participle passive (§ 51) with aorist of *ho*.

3. **हड़िचो हो** "he was being released." The same with preterite of *ho*.

5. **हड़िचो ऊंदो** "he will be being released." The same with future of *ho*.

Gujarati employs *ho* in the following tenses (Taylor, p. 92), mostly dubitative (*chad* "ascend") :

1. Present participle + aorist, **चडतो होय** "he is ascending." Definite present.

2. The same + future, **चडतो हये** "he may be ascending." Contingent present.

3. The same + pres. part. indeclinable, **चडतो होत** "(if) he were ascending." Subjunctive present.

A parallel group with past participle :

1. Past p. + aorist, **चड्यो होय** "he has ascended." Definite preterite.

2. The same + future, चढ्यो हये "he may have ascended." Contingent preterite.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चढ्यो होत "(if) he had ascended." Subjunctive preterite.

The same combinations may be formed with the p.p. in *elo*, as चढेचो होय, but there does not seem to be any very great difference in the meaning.

Also a group with future participle; in the form *vānp* (see § 52)—

1. Fut. p. + aorist, चढवानो होय "he is about to ascend." Definite future.

2. The same + future, चढवानो हये "he may be about to ascend." Contingent future.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चढवानो होत "(if) he were about to ascend." Subjunctive future.

An example of the use of the last of these tenses is ते मनें छोडवानो होत तो छोडते "If he were going to (or had intended to) release me, he would have released me (long ago)." Three similar tenses are formed by combining the three above parts of the auxiliary with the participle in *ār* or *āro*, which, as in Marathi, is rather the noun of the agent, and will be discussed further on (§ 75).

Compound tenses in Marathi are formed so largely by the auxiliaries derived from *as* and *achh*, that there is comparatively little left for *ho* to do. It is used in the following tenses:

Imperfect, made up of present part. and imperfect of *ho*, as तो येत होता "he was coming."

"Incepto-continuative" imperfect, as the grammar-writers call it, made from the present part. and the preterite of *ho*, as तो बोलता झाला "he began to speak." This is rarely used.

Future preterite formed by the future participle and imperfect of *ho*, as मी लिहिणार होतो "I was to have written," *i.e.* "It had been arranged that I was to write under certain circumstances." The example given is मी काज चापया वडे येणार

होतों पय शरीरांत विक्रतो द्याखामुळें घरीच राहिलों “*I was to have called* (yeṅār hotān) on you yesterday, but in my body illness having been (*i.e.* feeling unwell), I stayed at home.”

Future continuative composed of the present participle and future of *ho*, as तो बोलता होईल “he will begin to speak (and go on speaking).”

Imperfect subjunctive, from the subjunctive (future pass. part.) and imperfect of *ho* used in the *Karma prayoga*, as त्वां सांगवें होतें “you should have told,” lit. “by you to be told it was.” This may also be expressed by using पाहिजे “ought,” as मला चालवें पाहिजे होतें “I ought to have walked.”

Another preterite phrase is formed by adding the imperfect of *ho* to the neuter genitive of the future pass. part., as मला चालायाचें होतें “I had to walk,” *i.e.* “I was obliged to walk.”

It will be seen that all these instances of the use of *ho* as an auxiliary are rather elaborate verbal phrases than tenses, ingenious and successful attempts at filling up the gap caused by the loss of a large range of synthetical tenses and participles from the earlier stage of language.

This verb is not used as an auxiliary in O. or B., though it is used as an ancillary to form a pedantic sort of passive with Tatsama p.p. participles, as B. प्रेरित होइते, O. प्रेरित हेवा “to be sent.” This, however, forms no part of the actual living languages of either Orissa or Bengal, and may be passed over with just this much notice.

§ 69. *STHĀ*. The Pali and Prakrit forms of the various tenses of this verb were given in § 12, where also the principal parts of the verb in S. G. and O. were given. In Hindi there is only one part of this verb in use as an auxiliary, namely, the participial tense *thā* “was,” sing. चा *m.*, ची *f.*; pl. थे *m.*, थीं *f.*¹

¹ I had formerly connected this tense *thā* with G. and Braj *hato* and been thus led to refer it to *as*; but further research, aided by the dialectic forms brought to light by Kellogg and others, has led me to abandon that view, and to adopt that given in the text,—*dies diem docet*.

This form is, I believe, shortened from चिञ्चो, and that again from the Skr. p.p.p. क्षित. It is therefore analogous to the shortened forms of other p.p. participles so largely employed in the modern languages. We saw in Vol. II. p. 275, how the genitive postposition *kā* had been evolved by a long and varied process from Skr. *kṛita*; so, also, *gā* in the H. and P. future from *gata*, *bhā* in Old-Hindi from *bhūta*, *lā* and *la* in M., and other futures from *lagna*; and in exact parallelism to these is *sthā* from *sthita*.

The Kanauji Hindi has sing. चो *m.*, ची *f.*; pl. चे *m.*, ची *f.*; but the Garhwali still preserves a fuller type in sing. चयो *m.*, चई *f.*; pl. चया *m.* Nearer still to *sthita*, and with incorporation of the Skr. root *as*, so as to make a regular imperfect, is the Nepali "I was," etc.—

Sing. 1. चिया 2. चिस् 3. चिया. Pl. 1. चियुं 2. चियी 3. चिया.

Nepali is not an independent language, but merely a dialect of Hindi. The people who speak it call it Pārbaṭiya or mountain Hindi; it may therefore appropriately be taken into consideration in arguing as to the origin of Hindi forms. चा is used in Hindi in two tenses only.

1. With present participle, बोलता चा "was speaking." Imperfect.

2. With past participle, बोला चा "had spoken." Pluperfect.

In P. सा is occasionally used, though सा, in its numerous forms, is far more common. This verb is also used with a full range of tenses in Sindhi. Trumpp¹ calls it an auxiliary, but I can find no instances of its being used to form tenses of the ordinary neuter or active verb like *as* or *bhū*, and it takes parts of the latter to form its own compound tenses. There are, however, two parts of *sthā* in use as auxiliaries in Sindhi, the former of which चो probably = क्षित: *nom.*, and the latter

¹ Grammar, p. 305.

जे = स्थिते *loc.* जो agrees with the subject in gender, and is used to form with the aorist an indefinite present—

Sing. 1. हजां जो *m.* हजां जी *f.*
Pl. 1. हजूं या *m.* हजूं धिजं *f.*, "I go," etc.

This auxiliary differs from all others in the seven languages, in that it may be put *before* the principal verb. जे has the same peculiarity, and is used to make a continuative imperfect with the past participle of the principal verb ; it does not vary for gender or person. Thus—

Sing. 1. हसिउसि जे 2. हसिएं जे.

Pl. 1. हसिआसी जें, etc., "I used to go," or simply "I was going."

Examples are—

बु जाबूं बार जे बार जे विडहूं "Two women were quarrelling (the *vidahyūn*) about a child."

हिकिडा बु जणा परे परडेहि जे बिआ "Two men were going (the *bid*) to a foreign country."¹

Here the auxiliary precedes, and with reference to the suggested origin of this auxiliary from the locative *sthite*, it is more natural that it should do so, for the verb, whether in a simple or compound tense, naturally comes last in the sentence, so that the phrase "I am (in the act or condition of) having gone," is rendered "in having been, I am gone."

G. has also the full verb in all its tenses, and it may apparently be used as an auxiliary just as *ho*. As regards meaning, जवुं is more powerful than होवुं; the latter, also, is more powerful than जे. There are thus three grades of substantive verb. जे "he is," is merely the copula; होय "he is, or becomes," is a definite expression of existence; थाय "he remains," is positive and prolonged existence. The distinction,

¹ Stack, Grammar, pp. 134, 135.

as pointed out before, is analogous to that between *ser* and *estar* in Spanish.

चनु forms compound tenses by taking parts of होनु as auxiliaries, just as the ordinary verb, thus—

Imperfect चतो हतो, as in ते खडारि चती हती “That fight was going on.”

Preterite चयो होय छे, as in तेनु मन कठण चयुं होय छे “His heart has become hard.”

Dubitative present चतो हये, as in ते हवे परतावो चतो हये “Therefore you may now be regretting,” and so on.¹

In Oriya this verb plays a somewhat different part. It is there used not as a second auxiliary side by side with *ho*, but to the exclusion of it, and forms, with the participles of the principal verb, a range of well-defined tenses, which cannot be expressed otherwise.

1. With the present participle (*kar* “do”) कर “doing”—

- a. Aorist of *thā* कर जाए, *karu thāē*, “he is (or was) doing.” Continuative present.
- b. Preterite ,, कर थिसा, *karu thilā*, “he was doing.” Imperfect.
- c. Future ,, कर थिब, *karu thibō*, “he will be doing.” Continuative future.

2. With the past participle करि “done”—

- a. Aorist of *thā* करि जाए “he has (usually) done.” Habitual preterite.
- b. Preterite ,, करि थिसा “he had done.” Pluperfect.
- c. Future ,, करि थिब “he will have done.” Future past.

The difference between 1a and 2a is very delicate, and rather difficult to seize. *Karu thāē* implies that a person habitually

¹ The examples are from Leckey, Grammar, pp. 76, 81.

does an act, and thus that he was doing it at the time mentioned, according to his usual custom. Thus, to a question **से हाटरे बसु थिखा** "Was he sitting in the market?" the answer might be **हां सेठि बसु थाए** "Yes, *he always sits* there;" and thus it is implied that he was sitting there at the time referred to. So again, **कबिराज जेते बेठे चासिखा मु भजहेउ थाएं** "When the doctor came, *I was getting* well," implying that I had been improving before he came, and continued to do so. *Kari thâë*, on the other hand, literally, "He remains having done," implies a habit which is not necessarily in force at the time referred to, as **भारजा प्रति ताहार बड राग होइ थाए** "He is always very angry with his wife," not implying that he is actually angry at the moment of speaking. It is also used of an action which lasted some time, but has now ceased, as **से समयरे अथर बड काश होइ थाए**¹ "At that time I had a bad cough," implying that he had a cough which lasted a long while, but from which he has now recovered. Both tenses thus imply continuity, but the former indicates continuity still existing, the latter continuity in past time, which has now ceased.

There are similarly two imperatives formed respectively with the present and past participles—

a. **कर था** "Remain thou doing."

b. **करि था** "Remain thou having done."

Here, also, the same fine distinction is drawn as in the other tenses. **गोबिंद से काम कर थाउ** "Let Gobind go on doing that work." But, as Hallam well remarks (Grammar, p. 153), "The Oriya very often uses a past participle in his mode of thought, where we should use the present."² He illustrates this tense

¹ Hallam, Oriya Grammar, p. 78.

² I had the advantage of assisting Mr. Hallam when he was writing his grammar, and the definition of this tense was a source of much difficulty and discussion. He consulted a large number of natives, both educated and uneducated, the former as to the *rationale*, and the latter as to the practice. The latter, without knowing the reason why, often corrected *karu thâ* into *kari thâ* instinctively, and a large range of observations led to his adopting the definition in which I have followed him.

thus: "Suppose a person should say to another, 'Do that work so,' and the person addressed should reply, 'I have done it so,' and the first speaker should then say, 'Well, always do it so,' or, 'Continue to do it so,' this last phrase would be expressed by this tense." Ex. gr. :—

तुझे सेहि काम सेमति कर "Do that work so."

Answer मु सेमति करिछि जे "I have done it so," or, "as (you order) so I have done."

Rejoinder अछा सेमति करि जा "Well, always do so," literally, "thus having done, remain."

Here, if we used *karu thá*, we should imply that the person addressed was actually doing the work while we were speaking, while *kari thá* is used when he is not actually working.

Lastly, there is a pair of tenses with the conditional—

कर घांता "he might be doing," or, "if he were doing."

करि घांता "he might have done," or, "if he had done."

These explain themselves.

Bengali does not employ the primary form of this auxiliary, but has instead a secondary stem derived from it. This is *चाक्*, which is conjugated throughout in the sense of remaining, and partakes of the combined senses of continuity and doubt peculiar to this verb. There are, strictly speaking, no compound tenses formed by this verb, and the method of its employment is rather that of an ancillary verb.

§ 70. *र. 1.* This root takes the form *जा*, and is used in H. P. M., occasionally in G. and B., and usually in O., to form the passive voice. G. having a passive intransitive of its own (§ 24), does not often have recourse to this verb, and S. having a regularly derived synthetical passive (§ 25), dispenses with it altogether. When used as in H. P. and M. to form a passive,

it is compounded with the past participle of the principal verb, as (*dekh* "see")—

H. Aorist	देखा जाए "he is seen."	P. दिटा जावे.
Imperfect	देखा जाओ "be ye seen."	दिटा जावो.
Future	देखा जाएगा "he will be seen."	दिटा जावेगा.

So also in M. and O. The various tenses of *जा* are formed in the same manner as other verbs. When compounded with any other part of the verb than the past participle, *jà* is ancillary, and is used in various other senses.

There has been, in former times, much discussion about this form of the passive, some writers declaring it inelegant, others considering it unusual and opposed to the genius of the Indian languages, while some have even gone so far as to deny its existence altogether. The most discerning inquirers, however, admit it as a form in actual use, though they point out certain circumstances which obviate the necessity for recourse to it. Such are the existence of a large class of neuter verbs, the practice of changing the object into a subject, and figurative expressions like "to eat a beating," *mār khānā*, "it comes into seeing," *dekhne men ātā*, and the like. Speaking as one who has lived in daily and hourly intercourse with natives of India for nearly twenty years, I can testify to the use of this form by speakers of Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya frequently, and even habitually. Idiomatically, many other ways of expressing the passive idea undoubtedly exist, and in some languages, as Bengali and Marathi, *ho* may be used to form a passive. There are phrases and occasions, however, where it would be more idiomatic to use the passive *jà* than any other construction, and we may conclude that, though its use is somewhat restricted, it is erroneous to describe it as always inelegant and unidiomatic, and still more so to deny its existence altogether.

§ 71. By using the expression "compound tense" in a wider sense than that in which it has been employed in the former part of this chapter, we may legitimately include under it that large and varied class of phrases in which two verbal stems are used together to express one idea. In such a combination the first verb remains unchanged, and all the work of conjugation is performed by the second, which acts, so to speak, as a handmaid to the first. For this second verb I have thought it advisable to employ the term "ancillary," as expressing more clearly than any other that occurs to me, the actual relation between the two. The ancillary verb differs from the auxiliary, in that the former runs through all the tenses of the verb, and the principal verb on which it waits remains unchanged, while the latter only forms certain specified tenses in composition with several parts of the principal verb, being attached now to the present, now to the past or future participle. Thus, the tenses formed by the aid of auxiliaries are integral portions of the primary simple verb. In the case of the ancillary, on the other hand, it, together with the principal verb, forms, in fact, a new verb, which, though consisting of two elements, must be regarded for conjugational purposes as essentially one throughout. Thus, the elements *mār* "strike," and *ḍāl* "throw," combine into the compound verb *mār ḍālnā* "to kill," which is conjugated through the whole range of simple, participial, and compound tenses of *ḍālnā*, *mār* remaining unchanged.

Grammarians have invented many strange names for these verbs with ancillaries, calling them Frequentatives, Inceptives, Permissives, Acquisitives, and many other -ives. It would, perhaps, be simpler not to seek to invent names for all, or any of them, but merely to note the combinations that exist with their meanings. Indeed, it is hardly possible to group them into classes, because, in practice, some ancillaries may be combined with any verb in the language, while others again

can only be combined with one or two specific verbs. Moreover, there are exceptions to the general rule that a verb with an ancillary runs through the whole range of tenses, for some ancillaries are only employed in one tense, or in two tenses; thus *lag*, in Hindi, is usually only employed in the past tense, as *kahne lagâ* "he began to say." Some again are formed in only one tense in one language, while they may be used in several tenses in another language.

The subject is a very wide one, for the number of primary verbal stems in the seven languages being small, they are driven to express complicated ideas by combining two of them together. They have also lost the facility of expressing such ideas which is possessed by most original Aryan languages, through the *upasargas*, or prepositions, and can no longer develop from one simple root a variety of meanings by prefixing *pra*, *abhi*, *upa*, or *sam*. Under such circumstances they have taken a number of their commonest verbs and tacked them on to other verbs, in order to imply that the action expressed by the principal verb is performed under the conditions expressed by the added, or, as we may call it, the ancillary verb. As might be expected, however, while the principle is the same in all seven languages, the method of its application, and the particular ancillaries used, differ, to some extent, in the several languages. It will be better to take each ancillary separately, exhibiting the general effect of each as combined with different parts of the principal verb.

§ 72. Ancillaries may be attached not only to other verbs, but even to themselves; the verb to which they are attached is placed in the conjunctive participle, and remains in that form throughout. Another class, however, exists, in which the principal verb is in the infinitive mood, which, as Kellogg justly observes, is not strictly a case of a compound verb, but

that of one verb governing another, and in this view would more properly be regarded as a matter of syntax. Inasmuch, however, as certain well-known and constantly-used phrases of this kind have grown up in all the languages, whose use, to a great extent, supplies the want of regular tenses, it will be better to give them all here, so as to complete the survey of the modern verb in all its aspects. It must be noted, also, that in Hindi, and occasionally in P. M. and G., the conjunctive participle loses its final syllable, and thus appears in the form of the simple stem; that it is the participle, and not the stem, is shown by the analogy of the other languages, and by isolated instances of the preservation of the participial form even in Hindi.

1. दे "give," and ले "take," are in H. widely used as ancillaries, and the meanings which are obtained by their use are somewhat varied. In a general way, it may be said that *de* is added to verbs to express the idea that the action passes away from the subject towards the object, while *le* implies that the action proceeds towards the subject. Thus *de* can, strictly speaking, be used only with actives and causals; and in some cases adds so little to the meaning of the principal verb, that it appears to be a mere expletive. With active verbs examples are—

फेंकना "to throw,"

फेंक देना "to throw away."

निकासना "to take out,"

निकास देना "to turn out, eject."

Thus घर से धान निकालना "he took the rice out of the house," where the idea is, that the man being outside went in and brought out the rice; but in मुझ को घर से निकास दिया है "he has turned me out of the house," it would be understood that the speaker had been forcibly ejected.

रखना "to put,"

रख देना "to put away, lay by."

मारना "to strike,"

मार देना "to beat off."

With causals it is used very frequently, and with scarcely any perceptible change of meaning—

समझाना and समझा देना “to explain.”

गिराना „ गिरा देना “to cause to fall, or to throw down,”

बैठाना „ बैठा देना “to seat, or to put into a seat.”

Perhaps one can sometimes trace in the form with दे a sense of the action having been done with some force, while in the simple verb the idea of force is wanting, but in the majority of instances no such distinction could be traced. There is occasionally some additional emphasis, as in the common phrases दे दो “give,” and ले लो “take,” where the ancillary is added to itself, but these expressions belong more particularly to the Urdu side of the language.

When attached to the infinitive of another verb, *de* implies permission, as जाने दो “let (him) go,” हम लो बैठने दीजिये “please let me sit down.”

P. uses *de* in the same way as H., but it does not appear to be so used in Sindhi. In G. it is added to the conjunctive participle of another verb to give emphasis, it also expresses impatience, but, in both cases, like H., with a general idea of the action being from the speaker towards the object. Thus तबहु “to abandon,” तबी देखो “let (it) alone!” “let go!” नाखहु “to throw,” नाखी देखो “throw (it) away!” But as in H., with the infinitive it implies permission, जवु “to go,” जवा देवु “to allow to go,” पडवा देवु “to let fall,” लखवा देवु “to permit to write.”

M. has the same usage of दे; when added to the conjunctive participle it has the same senses as in H., as लिखन देखे “to write,” खखून देखे “to dig;” in both of which phrases there is only a little additional emphasis implied, or perhaps an idea of finishing and having done with, as “write it off,” “dig it up and have done with it,” as in टाकून दे “throw it away.”

With the infinitive it implies permission, as **मला जाऊं दे** "suffer me to go," **बारा लिख देत नाही** "the wind will not let me write."

Precisely similar is the usage in O. and B., as O. **फिटार दिव** "break it open," literally, "having caused to open, give;" but with the infinitive **मते आसिवाकु देला नाही** "he would not let me come."

Bengali uses this verb with the conjunctive to imply completeness or emphasis, as **पुस्तक देखिया दियाहि** "I have seen the book," that is, "I have examined or perused it." With the infinitive it, like the rest, signifies permission, as **आमाके पडिते दिखेन ना** "They did not allow me to read."

2. **ले** is in all respects used similarly to **दे**, but with exactly the opposite meaning, namely, that of the action being directed *towards* the speaker, or the subject. In this construction its meaning is often very slightly different from that of the simple verb. Thus we may say, **पीता** "he drinks," and **पी लेता** "he drinks up," or "drinks down," in the latter case implying a more complete action. With causals it is used when the action is towards the subject, as **राम को हमारे पास बुला लो** "call Ram to me," where the simple verb **बुलाना** merely means "to call." The distinction between the use of *de* and *le* is well shown when added to **रखना** "to put;" thus **रख लो** means "put it away (for your own use)," but **रख दो** "put it down (and leave it)." There is, as Kellogg has shown, a sense of appropriating a thing to oneself involved in *le*.

P. follows the usage of H., but has less frequent recourse to this ancillary. S. uses **निचयु**, which is the same word as *le*, in the sense of "taking away," which in H. is expressed by **ले जाना**, as in **सांदोर समुद्र ले निहोडे निचा** "In crossing the ocean they were forcibly carried off" (Trumpp, p. 340). In another instance, however, the meaning is more that of simple taking, **माटाए निचयु** "to bring back," literally, "having caused to return, to take."

In G., the meaning is the same as in H., acquisition, or action towards the speaker or subject, as in समझी लेवुं "to understand," *i.e.* "to make oneself acquainted with," शीखी लेखी "learn (this)," *i.e.* "acquire this knowledge."

M., as before remarked, uses ले, where its sisters have ले. It is used freely in all combinations involving the idea of taking, and seems, like many other ancillaries, to be often used pleonastically. Perhaps, however, we ought to make allowance for the trains of thought which, in the minds of native speakers, underlie the expressions which they use, and, in this view, to admit that an idea of taking may be present to their minds in expressions which, in our mode of thought, would not involve such an idea. It is difficult to get a native to concentrate his mind upon what he is actually saying or doing, he will always mix up with his present speech strange undercurrents of nebulous fancies as to what he did or said last, or what he is going to do or say next, and this habit influences his speech and produces phrases which, to the practical European mind, seem unnecessary and confusing. Thus Molesworth (s.v. ले) reckons as pleonastic the use of this ancillary in लवकर लान करुन घ्या "quickly having bathed take." Here the word "take" is probably inserted from a feeling that the person addressed is wanted again after he has had his bath. Thus, if you were about to send a man on an errand, and he asked (as a native usually does) to be allowed to bathe and eat first, you might use the above sentence. In Hindi one would use *ānā* "to come," in the same way, as झट लसगान करके आओ. If you did not use some ancillary or other, it might be understood that you did not want the man's services after he had bathed. In another phrase पोरने हात पोळजन घेतला "The child burnt his hand," judging from the analogy of similar phrases in the cognate languages, I feel that if घेतला were not used, the person addressed would be capable of supposing that

the child burnt the whole of his hand up, whereas, what is really meant is, that the child got a burn on his hand.

The O. verb **जेवा** is used as in H., as **कागज पत्र बुझि जेवुं** "I will take charge of the papers and accounts," where he means that he will take them and study them, it is literally "having understood I will take."

So also with B. **जखो**, as **चिटी पढाइया जखेन** "they took and read the letter."

3. **आ** "come," **जा** "go," as also the cognate stems in the other languages, when used as ancillaries, stand to each other in the same contrast as *le* and *de*. H. **आ** is not very widely used, and principally with neuter verbs; it implies doing a thing and coming back after having done, and thus has a certain sense of completing an action. Thus **बनना** "to be made," **बन आना**, or sometimes colloquially, **बने आना** "to be completely done, successfully accomplished," **खेत जो देख आया हूँ** "Having seen the field, I am come," i.e. "I have been and looked at the field," and he implies, "I have examined it, and am now ready to make terms for the rent of it." The usage is similar in P., though rarely heard.

The equivalent of *à* in S. is **आचयु**, pres. part. **ईंदो** "coming," p.p. **आयो** "come." It is used with the infinitive to mean beginning to do, and this usage is thus different from that of H. and P. Thus **वसण आचयु** "to come to rain," or, as we should say, "to come on to rain," as—

विजुं वसण आईयूं सारंगु चढिचो खेव ।

"The lightnings have begun to rain, the rainy season has ascended (his) couch."—Trumpp, p. 344.

G. **आव** is used in the sense of coming into action, or into use, becoming, and is used with the present participle, as **बगडतुं आवतुं** "to become spoilt." But far more frequently **आचो**, the conjunctive participle, takes other ancillaries after it.

चे in M. is also used in a potential sense, but generally, as

far as I can learn, with the indeclinable form of the present participle, and with the subject in the dative case; thus it literally means "to me, to you, etc., it comes to do," as **मला जाता येतो** "I can go," lit. "to me going comes." Similar to this is the use of *and* in H. as an independent verb, chiefly in negative sentences, as **उसको लिखापढी आती नहीं** "He does not know how to read and write," lit. "To him reading-writing comes not." So also in O. and B.

4. **जा** "go," is used more frequently, and in a wider sense than *ā*. In H. it implies completeness or finality, as **खाना** "eat," **खा जाना** "eat up," **चले जाना** "go away," where the principal verb preserves the termination of the conjunctive participle. In the familiar compound **हो जाना** "to become," the ancillary adds a little distinctness to the idea of the principal. So, also, in **कह**, or **कहे**, **जाना**; thus, if a man is hesitating or fumbling over a story or message, you say **कहे जाओ**, *i.e.* "Speak out!" or "Out with it!"

When added to neuter verbs (especially the double verbs mentioned in § 18), it seems to add no special meaning, and one may say **टूटना** or **टूट जाना** "to be broken;" **मिलना** or **मिल जाना** "to meet" or "be obtained." Colloquially, and especially in the past tense, the form with *jānā* is far more commonly heard than that without it; thus, for "it is broken," one hears **टूट गया** twenty times for once of **टूटा**. This practice seems to confirm what was conjecturally advanced in § 25, concerning the origin of the use of **जाना** to form a passive, as compared with the Sindhi passive in *ijā*.

Sindhi uses, in a similar way, its stem **वज्जु** "go" (impt. **वज्जु**, p.p. **विज्जो**, pres. p. **वींदो**, **वेंदो**), from Skr. $\sqrt{\text{व्रज}}$, Pr. **वञ्ज**. Thus, **वढी वज्जु** "to take off," **मरी वज्जु** "to be dead," *i.e.* "to go, having died." **चढी वज्जु** "to ascend," *i.e.* "to go, having ascended." There is also a phrase in which it is added to **खण्णु** "to lift," as **खण्णो वज्जु** "be off!" "go away!" The

general effect of this ancillary may thus be taken to be that of completeness. Trumpp gives the following examples (p. 340) : सो बड़िहं बड़ो तड़िहं मरी बिबो "When he was grown up, then he died" (say "died off"). सूहनि जो ससाह बडु त वोरि बंचे बनें "Take the advice of the pilots that thou mayst *pass over* (or pass through and escape from) the flood tide."

Completion or finality is also indicated by *jà* in G., attached to the conjunctive participle, as in H. and P.; when added to the present participle, it implies continuance, as बखतो जा "go on writing."

In M. B. and O., this stem is not used as an ancillary.

5. सक "be able," is attached to the stem-form or apocopated conjunctive participle of all verbs in H. to imply power, as चल सकता "he is able to walk," कर सकेगा "he will be able to do." It is rarely, if ever, used alone in correct speaking, though one sometimes, in the eastern Hindi area, hears such an expression as हम सकेगे नहीं "I shall not be able." This, however, is probably to be regarded merely as an elliptical phrase for हम कर सकेगे नहीं "I shall not be able *to do*."

In P. also it is used always as an ancillary, as वाच सकता है "he is able to read," and is conjugated throughout the verb. In S. the corresponding verb सघणु is used with the conjunctive participle in the same sense, as करे सघणु "to be able to do."

In all these three languages this verb may be added to the inflected form of the infinitive, though in H. and P. this construction is avoided by those who desire to speak elegantly. Still one often hears it, as जाने सकता नहीं "he cannot go," and in the eastern Hindi area it is very common, as well as in the Urdu spoken by Musulmans in all parts of India. Among these latter, indeed, *karne saktâ* is much commoner than *kar saktâ*.

It is used in G. as in H., and may also be used in M., but in this latter language the existence of another method of expressing potentiality (§ 54) renders its use less frequent.

B. and O. do not know this ancillary. In its place they use **पार** in B. with the infinitive, as **करिते पारि** "I can do," in O. with the past participle, and generally with the future of the ancillary, as **करि पारिबि** "I shall be able to do," where we should use the present. Thus in asking, "Can you tell me his name?" one would say **ताहार नाम कहि पारिब**, literally, "Shall you be able to say his name?"

6. **लग** "begin" (see § 12). In H. and P. with the infinitive, as **देखने लगता** "he began to see." The ancillary is mostly used in the preterite, indeed almost exclusively so; for **देखने लगता** "he begins to see," would be inelegant, and, I believe, quite unidiomatic. S. uses the same construction, as **रुझने लगी** "he began to cry." So also G., as **मारवा लागुं** "to begin to strike," and M. with infinitive of the principal verb, as **माई लागला** "he began to strike," but also with the dative of the future passive participle, as **करावयास लागला** "he began to do." B. the same, as **करिते लागिल** "he began to do," O. **करिवाकु लागिला**.

7. **चुक्** "fail," hence "leave off, cease to do." In H. added to the conjunctive part. in the sense of having already finished, as **खा चुका** "he has done eating," **जब खा चुकेगा** "when he shall have done eating." P. does not use this verb in this sense. S. uses **चुक्**, as in **करे चुक्यु** "to have finished doing;" but it has also other ways of expressing this idea, as by **रह्यु** "to remain," **वठ्यु** "to take," **निभ्यु** "to be ended," **बसि कर्यु** *id.* G. **करी चुक्युं** "to have finished doing." B. the same, as **दिया चुकियाहि** "I have done giving." O. uses **सार**, as **खाइ सारिबि** "I have done eating," **से कर्म होइ सारिला** "That business is quite finished." B. also uses **फेक** "throw," in this sense, as **बसिया फेलिलेन** "They have done speaking."

8. Marathi has two verbs not used in the other languages, **टवळें** and **टाकळें**, which are employed in many senses, and the distinction between which appears to be, at times, hard to draw.

The illustrations given, however, show that each word is faithful to its original meaning; ठेवणें = स्थापनं, and consequently means "put," while टाकणें = त्याग, and means "throw away." These two words stand to each other in the same contrast as ले and दे in H., thus हें कापड घडी करून ठेव "Fold up this cloth and lay it by," ती जाय बांधून ठेव "Tie up that cow" (having tied, put), but त्याची पोची त्यास देऊन टाक "Give him up his book" (i.e. "give it him and let him go"), तें झाड उपटून टाक "Root up that tree" (i.e. "uproot and throw away").

9. कर "do," is used in the sense of repetition or continuance, in H. with the perfect part., as आया करता "he always comes," तुम क्यों ऐसा किया करते हो "Why do you keep on doing so?" In Sindhi this sense is obtained by repeating the verb in the required tense after itself in the conjunctive participle, as सोई सो हरफु पढिओई जो पढा "Even that, that letter I read over and over again" (Trumpp, p. 343), where the participle has the emphatic *t* added to it. G., like H., uses करवुं with the inflected form of the p.p., as कया करवुं "to keep on doing," वाच्या करवुं "to keep on reading." The various uses of *karná* in forming compounds both with nouns and verbs are so numerous and peculiar, that they cannot be inserted here, but must be sought for in the dictionaries of the respective languages, and, still better, by those who have the opportunity, from the mouth of the people.

10. रह "remain," differs from कर, in that it implies continuance in a state, while कर implies repetition of an action. In H. and P., with the conjunctive participle, as बैठ रहना "to remain sitting," खेल रहते हैं "They are going on with their play;" also with the present participle, as नदी बहती दहती "The river flows on continually," *labitur et labetur*. There is a curious phrase in Hindi, जाता रहना (literally, "to remain going") used for "to be lost and gone," as an euphemism for death; thus मेरा बाप जाता रहा है "My father is dead (has passed

away);” also for loss of things; as **उसका सब धन जाता रहा** “All his property is gone.” I do not find this idiom in the sister languages.

Sindhi uses **रहसु** in the sense of continuance, as **बीदो रहंदो विर्ची मिसिर ग्राम** “He goes on travelling in fatigue from Egypt and Syria” (Trumpp, p. 344). The same sense is produced by **बतसु** “to turn, wander,” as **बीजसु घोडा चारींदो बते** “Bijalu goes on grazing the horses” (*ib.*). In both cases the principal verb is in the present participle.

G. employs **रैह**, which is its version of **रह** with conjunctive participle for continuance, as **करी रैहसु** “to remain doing,” and with the present participle in the sense of completion, as **चढतो रैहै** “he ascends completely.”

This ancillary is truer to its original meaning in M., where it implies leaving off, refraining, with the genitive of the future participle, as **मारायाचा राहिला** “he left off beating.” This sense recalls that of Skr. **रहित** = “deprived of.”

B. and O. do not use this verb as an ancillary. B. substitutes for it **चाक्**, and O. **चा**.

11. **पड** “fall,” implies generally accident, as in H. **जानना** “to know,” **जान पडना** “to be found out” (*i.e.* “to be known by an accident”), as **उस का दोष जो जान पड़े तो हम भी नहीं बचेगे** “If his fault should be found out, then we, too, shall not escape.” So also in G., as **बठगसु** “to stick to,” **बठगी पडसु** “to become attached to, to get caught in.” M. uses it with the dative of the future participle, as **तू ज्वरयस झालास म्हयून मजा खेपा चालायास पडते** “On account of your being attacked with fever, I *have to* waste my time in travelling,” literally, “to me the throwing away of journeys falls.” Here the sense is that of necessity, as also in **बायको वेसी तर घर बांधायास पडेव** “If you marry a wife, you will have to set up house.” The same idea is expressed in H. by adding **पड** to the infinitive, as **तुम को जाने पडेना** “You will have to go (whether

you like it or not);” so also in B. जाहते पडिल, where it also implies subjection, or falling into a state, as धरा पडिल “he got caught,” as सुन्दर पडेले धरा घुनि बिद्या पडे धरा “Hearing that Sundar had been caught, Bidya falls to the ground” (Bhârat B.-S. 359, where there is a pun on the double use of the phrase), घुमिया पडिल “he fell asleep,” मारा पडिल “he caught a thrashing.” The same in O., as धरा पडिल्लि (for पडि चडि) “he has been caught.”

This verb sometimes precedes the principal verb in the sense of doing a thing accidentally, and is then put in the past participle. In this sense I would explain the sentence quoted by Kellogg (p. 195) एक बाघ पडा फिरता चा “A tiger happened to be prowling about,” literally, “a tiger fallen was prowling,” the word “fallen” being used to express accidentally arriving. In P. the verb takes the form पड्या (= पतनं), and the p.p. is पिच्या; thus they say उह पिच्या खांदा हे “He is engaged in eating,” where the sense is rather that of continuance; when put after the principal verb, it implies setting to work at a thing, as तुरना “to walk,” तुर पड्या “to set out on a journey.” So also in Sindhi, where the verb has the form पवयु, the conjunctive participle परे or पेरे precedes another verb with the sense of emphasis or energy, as वसव सो विहाइ जो परे पुरायो न चिए “Buy those goods which do not grow old” (Trumpp, p. 341); here परे न चिए means rather “do not happen to become,” “are not likely to become.” खायी, the conjunctive of खायु “to lift,” is used in the same way, but the two verbs appear to be contrasted much as *le* and *de* in H., *khant* being used where activity, *pat* where receptiveness or accident is implied. Thus खायी लिखयु “to set to work writing,” खायी बजाए “he sets himself to play (music).” The past participle पिचो is also prefixed with much the same effect, as तेहिं में तबिसा खिचिणि वाने पिचा खिचनि “In it flashes like lightnings are found” (or “take place,” or “appear;” Trumpp, *ib.*).

12. The above are the principal, if not the whole, of the

ancillaries in general use. There are, indeed, a few others, but their use is restricted to one or other of the languages. Thus **पाना** "to find," is used with an infinitive in Hindi in the sense of being able, or being permitted, to do a thing. The verb in this construction is neuter, as **मैं उसको देखने नहीं पाया** "I was not allowed to see him," **तुम घर के भीतर जाने नहीं पाओगे** "You will not be permitted to go inside the house;" so also in B. **पढ़ते पाहू ना** "I am not able to read," that is, not because I do not know how to read, but because I cannot find leisure, or cannot get the book.

डाकना "to throw," is used in H. with verbs implying injury to show that force also was used, as—

मारना "to strike,"

मार डाकना "to kill."

तोड़ना "to break,"

तोड़ डाकना "to dash in pieces."

काटना "to cut,"

काट डाकना "to cut down, hack, hew."

There are, besides, numerous combinations of two verbs, in which the latter of the two does all the work, the former remaining unchanged; but for these the reader is referred to the Dictionary, though, as far as I have seen, Molesworth's Marathi dictionary is the only one where they will be found fully treated.

CHAPTER V.

OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 73. THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 74. THE INFINITIVE.
§ 75. THE AGENT.—§ 76. SINDHI VERBS WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.—
§ 77. CONJUGATION OF STEMS ENDING IN VOWELS IN HINDI, PANJABI, AND
SINDHI.—§ 78. THE SAME IN MARATHI.—§ 79. THE SAME IN BANGALI AND
ORIYA.

§ 73. THE participles of the present, past, and future, being used in the formation of tenses, it has been found necessary to depart from the natural order of the verb, and to discuss them in Chapter III. There remains, however, a very widely used and important participle, which is not employed to form a tense. From the fact that it is used to connect one clause with another, and thus helps the native speaker or writer to build up those interminable sentences of which he is so fond, it has been called, very appropriately, the Conjunctive Participle. It implies "having done," and the sense of the clause in which it is used remains incomplete until another clause containing a finite verb is added; thus, instead of saying, "Next morning he woke and arose, bathed, ate, dressed, collected his goods, loaded them on his camel, bade farewell to his friend, and started on his journey," the Indian languages would say, "Having woken, having risen, having bathed, having eaten, having dressed, having collected his goods, having loaded them on his camel, having bidden farewell to his friend, having started on his journey, he went."

Sanskrit has two forms of this participle, one in **त्वा**, as **भूत्वा** "having been," the other in **च**, as **संभूय** "having met." Each

of these forms has left descendants in the modern languages, and although the form in *ya* is, in classical Sanskrit, restricted, for the most part, to compound verbs, yet this peculiarity has been overlooked in the spoken languages, and simple verbs, as well as compound ones, are treated as having this form also.

Thus in Prakrit we find शुचिष्वा = Skr. श्रुत्वा "having heard," as well as गिच्छमिच्च = निष्क्रम्य "having gone out." So also दत्त = दत्त्वा "having given," चोरिच्च = चोरयित्वा "having stolen," गच्छ = गत्त्वा "having gone," सिंचिच्च = सिञ्चत्वा "having sprinkled," नेरिह्यच्च = गृहीत्वा "having taken."

In Old-Hindi this participle ends in *i*, as करि "having done," चलि "having gone," which is apparently the Prakrit form with loss of the final *a*, thus—

सुनि कगनर नृपराज प्रद्यु । भी जानन्द सुभाह ।

"Having heard the paper, King Prithiraj was glad, being pleased."

—Pr. R. xii. 52.

Chand, however, in his more archaic passages, uses a form in *ya*, and one in *aya*, as—

भुगति भूमि किय करार ।

वेद सिंचिय जल पूरण ।

बीय सवय जय मध्य ।

म्यान चंकूर सखूरन ।

"Taking possession of the earth, like a garden plot,
Irrigating it with the fullness of the Veda, as with water,
Having placed good seed in its midst,
Up sprung the shoot of knowledge."—Pr. R. i. 4.

Here किय "having made," and भुगति किय = mod. भोग करले "having made (or taken) possession," सिंचिय "having watered," जय = जह्य "having placed."

Mediæval Hindi has regularly the form ending in *h*, as राम वचन मुहु गूढ सुनि "Having heard the gentle mystic speech of Rama" (*Tulsi, Rām. Bālk.* 113), पंडित भूले पडि मुगवेदा । "Sages having read the Veda erred as to its qualities" (*Kabir, Rām.*

34, 1), भक्ति विमुख जो धर्म सु सब अधर्म करि मायो । “The religion that is opposed to devotion (bhakti), all that *having made* (i.e. having declared), irreligion he sang” (Bhaktamál, Múl. 30).

From the habitual neglect of final short vowels, it results that this participle often appears in the form of the bare stem, as in the verbs with ancillaries given above, and this form, appearing to be not sufficiently distinct, a secondary form has arisen, which is now the ordinary one in modern Hindi. This consists of adding **के**, **कर**, **करके**, **करकर**, and even **करकरके** to the stem, namely, the conjunctive participle of **करना** “to do;” as **देख कर** “having seen,” **जाकर** “having gone.” The first of these forms **के** is softened from **के**, which, again, is from **करि**, the older form of the conjunctive part. of **करना**, and is used in the mediæval poets and in Braj and the rustic dialects to this day. Thus Kabir **बड़ बिधि के बिच बनाई हरि रखी क्रीडा रास** । “*Having made* many kinds of appearances (*mâyá*), Hari has arranged the sport and pastime (of the world;” Hindola, 16). It having thus become customary to add the participle of **कर** to all verbs, it has been added to **कर** itself, thus making **करके** and **करकर**, and this reduplicated form again is added to other verbs. In all the dialects we find such forms as **मारिके**, **मारके**, **मार**, **मारि**, and even apocopated as Garhwali **मारिक** and **मारीक** “having beaten.” Kumaoni has a curious compound form **मारिबेर** “having beaten,” which is probably the old form **मारि** with **बेर** “time” (Skr. **वेना**), literally, “at the time of beating.”

In the case of the common verb *ho*, the conjunctive participle, like the future, takes in Old-Hindi the forms **होइ** and **हूँ**, especially the latter, as **गुरु भक्त एक न्यारो नही हूँ सके** । “Guru-bhakta alone could not remain apart” (*sak* ancillary with conjunctive of *ho* = “could be;” Bhaktamál, 116, 1), **रखनी चंध कूप हूँ जाए** “The night becomes as dark as a well” (Kabir, Ram. 16, 4), **मानुस बडे बडे हूँ आये** “Very great men came” (lit. “having become very great;” *ib.* 17, 6).

P. is the same as H., and with the latter closely agrees O., which forms this participle by short *i*, as देखि "having seen." This form also appearing too indefinite, in ordinary conversation they add करि, often pronounced किरि, as देखिकरि "having seen." O. has also another, and in the classical speech the only admissible, form in *ile*, as मारिखे "having beaten," which is also used in B., and in both appears to be the old locative case of the past participle, and is thus literally "in having beaten." The old form of the locative case having in O. fallen into disuse, the same has taken place in the participle; thus arise the forms देखिखारे "in having seen," and देखिखार "from having seen," which are respectively the locative and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding ठारे and ठार, the initial syllable of which is rejected (Vol. II. p. 274).

B. has, besides the form in *ile*, one in *iyā*, which approaches closer to the Prakrit, as पडिया "having fallen," बसिया "having sat," धरिया "having seized." This latter form is that which is used to string together long sentences, in preference to the form in *ile*, which is used more in short sentences. Thus Bhârat—

आन छत्ते पुनः चाहे फिरिया फिरिया ।
पिंजरेर पाखि मत बेडाय घुरिया ।

"Another craftily looks, repeatedly turning round,
Like a bird in a cage walks round and round."

—Bidyā-S. 245.

literally, "having turned, having turned, looks," and "having twisted round, walks."

S. has four forms for this participle. Neuter verbs take the ending *t*, as वरी "having returned;" active and causal verbs have *e*, as मखे "having rubbed," both of which correspond to the Pr. ending *ia*. Less widely used is a form in *io* or *yo*, as मोट्यो "having returned," धोयो "having washed," which is identical with the p.p.p. Thirdly, the inserted *jja* of Prakrit reappears here, as from खायु "to lift," खयिजे "having lifted."

Lastly, S. follows the example of H., and adds करे, the conjunctive of करणु "to do," as वरी करे "having returned."

G. resembles S., having its conjunctive in ङ, as होरे "having become." Ordinarily it puts this participle in the objective case, adding the postposition ने, often dropping the anuswāra, as करीने or करीने "having done," देरने "having given." As G. makes no distinction between ङ and ङ, this is often written with short ङ, as देरने.

M. stands quite alone, having its conjunctive in ज्ञ, as जाऊन "having gone," होऊन "having been." This is sometimes written जोन, and in the poets takes an increment, and appears as ज्ञनियां, जोनियां, as तुम्हापाशीं चम्ही येऊनियां काय । (Tuk. Abh. 1888) "What is the good of my going to you?" (literally, "I near you *having come*, what?") देखोनियां वस्त्रे भूषणांचे जन । तात्काळ मरण घेतें मज । "*Having seen* men in fine clothes and ornaments, I am ready to die at once" (*ib.*).

This form is the old Maharashtra Pr. form in ज्ञ, shortened from नूण, Skr. स्वानं, accusative of स्वा (Lassen, p. 367), and has undergone singularly little change. I see in this a confirmation of the belief that modern Marathi is really the representative of the Maharashtra Prakrit, for it is only in Maharashtra that the conjunctive in *ūna*, *tūna*, is found. All the prose dialects without distinction take forms of the conjunctive derived from the Skr. *-ya*; this consideration seems to be fatal to the theory (Trumpp, p. 283; V. Taylor, p. 114, § 256) which would derive the G. conjunctive in *ine* from M. *ūna*. Setting aside the absence of any analogy for a change from *ū* to *ī* in such a connection, there is abundant evidence that G. is, by origin, a Rajput dialect belonging to that large group of dialects which we roughly class under the name of Hindi, and Śastri Vrajlāl (G. Bh. It. p. 3) points out the great gulf that exists between G. and M., as also the close connection of G. with the northern dialects. We have therefore strong reasons for not looking to M. for the origin of any G. form. The

latter has, like the rest of the eastern Hindi group, Sauraseni for its parent, and the form in *-ine*, when compared with that in *t* in the same language, points clearly to the Sauraseni conjunctive in *ia* with a modern case-postposition *ne* or *neṅ* added.

§ 74. The Infinitive is, in all the languages, a verbal noun declined throughout all the cases of the noun. Its numerous forms may all be grouped under two general types, which may be called the *Ba*, and the *Na* types respectively.

The *Ba* type is found in the rustic dialects of Hindi, in Bangali, Oriya, and Gujarati, and is declined as a noun. It occurs in the oldest Hindi poems. Chand has it in—

जो बिबंन करि रहै । तो ताहि हुनिबे जो आवै ॥

“If any one makes delay, he comes to strike him.”—Pr. R. i. 198.

उठि करिबे को धायी ॥

“Rising up, rushed to fight.”—*ib.* i. 254.

It takes the junction-vowel *i*, and in these passages is in the accusative case. It may be rendered “to *or* for the purpose of fighting.” This form does not once occur in the *Ramaini* (रमैनी) of Kabir, and only rarely in his other works. I have noted *तरिबे को* “to cross over,” *चखैबो* (चखारवा) “to urge on,” in the *Rekhtas*. It is more common in Braj, and in Tulsī Das’s *Ramāyan*, where, besides the form with junction-vowel *i*, as *तोरिबे* “to break,” occurs also a shorter form in *ab*, as *फिरब* “to return.” In the dialects (Kellogg, p. 241) occur the following (*mār* “strike”) :—

Braj मारिबो, East Rajput मारबो, West Rajp. *id.* Old-Pārbi मारब, Avadhi, and Riwai *id.*

In Gujarati, this is the only form of the infinitive. It is declined as an adjective for all three genders, thus—

Sing. स्थावरो *m.*, स्थावरी *f.*, स्थावतुं *n.*

Pl. स्थाववा *m.*, स्थाववी *f.*, स्थाववां *n.* “to bring” or “the act of bringing.”

and agrees with the object, as mentioned in § 52, where it is used to constitute a tense. In the neuter singular it performs the functions of a simple infinitive, as **गावुं** "to sing," **करवुं** "to do."

In Oriya it is the ordinary infinitive, as **बसिबा** "to sit," and, though without gender, is declined for case, as—

Gen. बसिबार "of sitting,"	}	एहि बसिबार जगना "this is a place of sitting," <i>i.e.</i> "a fit place to sit in."
Loc. बसिबारे "in sitting,"		बसिबारे किछि हेव नही "in sitting nothing will become," <i>i.e.</i> "you will do no good by sitting still."
Acc. बसिबाकु "to or for sitting,"	}	बसिबाकु हेव "for sitting it will become," <i>i.e.</i> "you will have to, or must, sit."
Abl. बसिबाह "from sitting,"		देखिबाकु आसिबा "he came to see." सेठि बसिबाह सरदी जगिब "from sitting there a chill will attack," <i>i.e.</i> "if you sit there, you will catch cold."

Bengali does not use this form as its ordinary infinitive, having utilized for that purpose the locative of the present participle, as **होइते** "to be" (lit. "in being"), **जाकिते** "to remain," **जाइते** "to go;" but it is used in the genitive case to form a sort of gerund or verbal noun, as **बीज बसिबार कास आछे** "It is the time of sowing, or for sowing, seed." More common still is its employment with **जन्वे**, **कारख** or **निमित्ते** "for the sake of," as **देखिबार जन्वे** "for the sake of seeing," **करिबार निमित्ते** "for the sake of doing."

The infinitive of the Gipsies ends in *áva*, and probably belongs to this group. Paspatis writes *keráva* "to do," *láva* "to take," *dáva* "to give," *sováva* "to sleep," *mangáva* "to ask," *ruváva* "to weep," which may be transliterated perhaps **कराव**, **लाव**, **दाव**, **सोवाव**, **मंगाव**, **रुवाव** respectively. These are words of the Chingana or Turkish Gipsies. Those in Bohemia ap-

parently drop the final *a* and shorten the *á*, as *chorav* "to steal" (चोरव), *kerav* "to do" (करव), *chinnav* "to tear" (चिन्नव). Those in Wallachia appear to pronounce the termination as *ao* (आओ or आओ?), as *jao* "to go" (जाओ), *hao* "to eat" (हाओ), *peo* "to drink" (पेओ).¹

In all these languages the idea of an infinitive glides off imperceptibly into that of a verbal noun, and the *Ba* form thus reveals its origin from the Sanskrit future passive participle in तञ्च, from which, as we have seen in Ch. III. § 51, many tenses are formed.

The *Na* type occurs in Hindi, as also in P. S. M. It has two forms in H., one archaic and poetical ending in *ana*, the other modern and classical in *ná*. The first of these two forms I would derive from the Sanskrit verbal noun in *anam*, as करणं "doing," पतनं "falling." It is in frequent use, uninflected, throughout the poets, thus—

पुद्घातन तिन बंधन बिचारि ॥

"Having plotted *to stop* his virility."—Pr. R. i. 178.

कियी पसन की साज ॥

"He made preparation *to go*."—ib. xx. 28.

जंग झुरन आखिम झुझार ॥

"*To join* battle a terrible warrior."—ib. xx. 31.

सख कहीं मोहि जान दे मारि ॥

"I speak truth, suffer me *to go*, mother."—Tulsi-Ram. S.-k. 7.

राम सैक बन देखन आहीं ॥

"They go *to see* the hill and forest of Râm."—ib. Ay-k. 91.

It is unnecessary to give more instances of this very common form. It still survives in Kanauji, as मारन "to strike." The other form in न्ना was anciently written नौ, and is always so written in Braj, as मारनौ "to strike," आवनौ "to come." This form I now agree with Hoernle in deriving from the Sanskrit

¹ Miklosich, Zigeuner Europa's, part ii. p. 9.

future participle in *antya*, so that from करणीच्, through Pr. करणीच् and करणच्, would come Old-H. करणी, M. करणे, and P. करना. I, however, would refer the S. करण्यु to the verbal noun in *anam*, because the final vowel is short, and, as in all similar nouns, reproduces the final *o = u* of the a-stem (see Hoernle's essay in J.A.S.B. vol. 42, p. 59, etc.). The two forms of the infinitive are thus analogous in respect of their derivation, and the fact of the existence side by side of two sets of forms with precisely similar meaning is explained by that of there being two participles of similar meaning in Sanskrit, both of which have left descendants.

Under these altered lights I must withdraw the opinion formerly held by me as to the origin of the infinitive in *nd*. That in *ana* is now obsolete, except in Kanauji, and the *nd* form is declined as a noun in *ā*, making its oblique in *e*, as *karne kâ* "of doing," *karne men* "in doing." In M. the infinitive is also declined as a noun of the sixth declension (Vol. II. p. 192), thus gen. *karanyâ châ* "of doing," dat. *karanyâ lâ* "to doing." In Sindhi, however, the infinitive vindicates its claim to be considered as a descendant of the verbal noun in *anam* by exhibiting the declension of masculines (*i.e.* neuters) in *u*; the oblique ends consequently in *a*, as *ginhana jo* "of buying," *ginhana men* "in buying," etc. This would not be the case were the S. infinitive derived from the participle in *antya*.

M. has an infinitive peculiar to itself ending in ञ्, as मरुञ् "to die," which is comparatively little used, and only with the present tense. I am unable to suggest any thoroughly satisfactory explanation of this form which does not appear to have any analogy in the cognate languages. It may be the only descendant of the Skr. infinitive in *tum*, with elision of the *t*, but this is somewhat doubtful. To this place must also be referred the B. infinitive or verbal noun in *ā*, as करा "to do," or "the act of doing," which, after stems ending in a vowel, appears as चा, the *y* of which is not pronounced; thus ह्योया

pronounced "hōwâ," देखोया "dewâ." The origin of this form is not clear to me, but it is probably connected with the participle in तब्ब.

§ 75. On the basis of the infinitive in *nd* is formed the agent. This, in Hindi, is made by adding to the oblique of the infinitive the words वाक्ता, हारा; as करनेवाक्ता "a doer," देखनेहारा "a seer." Of these the former is apparently Skr. पात्रक "protector, keeper." Thus Skr. गोपात्रक "cowherd," becomes H. ग्वाक्ता; as to the latter there is some difference of opinion, some would derive it from Skr. धारक "holder," others from कारक "doer." I myself incline to the latter view; the क would be elided when it ceased to be initial, and its place supplied by ह, which is often used to fill an hiatus. This is Trumpp's opinion (Grammar, p. 75), who shows that in S. this form of the agent exists as *hâro* or *hâru*=respectively *kâraka* and *kâra*, as in—

सिर्जयु "to create,"	सिर्जयहारी (ह) "creator,"
लिखयु "to write,"	लिखयहारी (ह) "writer,"

also in its original form of *kâro* or *kâru*, with nouns, as झेडो "quarrel," झेडाकार "quarreller."

Kellogg (p. 245) refers to the phrase धारन धारय in Chand's first verse as confirming the derivation from धारक; but this identification rests on a translation of that verse very confidently put forward by a writer whose high estimate of himself as a translator of Hindi has not yet been confirmed by the opinion of scholars in general. The translation in this particular instance is extremely uncertain, and no argument can be based on it.

Hindi has also an agent in वैया, as करवैया "a doer," रखवैया "a keeper," which is shortened from वारिया, a dialectic form of वाक्ता. It is confined almost to rustic speech, though the shorter form वारा is not uncommon in the poets. H. वाक्ता may be added also to nouns, to imply the doer of an action, or

the person who takes care of a thing, in which latter respect the original meaning of *pālaka* is well preserved. Thus घोड़ेवाला "one who takes care of a horse." So also in P. घरवाला "husband," i.e. one who takes care of or maintains the house, and still more frequently घरवाली *f.* "wife." Sindhi changes क to र *more suo*, and has वारो, as घरवारो "householder," from घर "house," and दिखववारो "giver," from दिखवु "to give," H. देनेवाला.

Chand uses the form in हार, shortened from हारा, to make a sort of future participle, in the verb हो "be." Thus—

होइ होनहार सीता हरन ।

"The rape of Sita, which was to be, takes place."—Pr. R. iii. 27.

Also—

तें कछू होनहार पहचानिय ।

"Thou knowing something of futurity."—ib. xxi. 92.

इनहार एसी सची । कही जु आव्ह उपाय ।

"It is written thus as *destined to be*, the plan which Alha has spoken." —ib. xxi. 94.

Probably, also, to this place belongs the affix वारी in words like पटवारी "a village accountant," the व being an indication of a lost क, from कारी (कारिण) "doer."

In M. and G. this form loses its initial consonant, and appears simply as *ara*. In G. it is incorporated into one word with the verbal noun in *ana*, of which, except in this conjunction, no traces remain. Thus from होवु "to be," comes होनार "one who is." But, just as in the Old-H. होनहार, the sense of futurity has usurped the place of the original idea of agency, and *honâr* now means "he who, or that which, is to be," as सखि होनार ते होय । शत बीना बोवु नही कोय । "That which in truth is (destined) to be, comes to pass, except truth there is nothing else" (Samaldas, Leckey, p. 64). It also takes the long *o*, as बनार or बनारो "that which is about to become," from बनु "to become," शकनार "that which is able," from

शक्यं "to be able;" and is in practice used simply as a remote future tense, less immediate in its action than the simple future of the *sa* type, but equally common. Thus एतथा माटेज चने तने मारनार "For this very reason we are *about to kill* thee;" पोताना धर्मेने कदी छोडनार नधी "He *will never forsake* his religion," in other words, "he is not a forsaker (H. छोडनेहारो) of, or one who is likely to forsake, his religion;" ऊं बीचाने मारीने शुख भोगवनारो हुतो "Having killed another, *I was about to enjoy* happiness," literally, "I was becoming an enjoyer" (Leckey, p. 161).

It is probably owing to the absence of any derivative of the verbal noun in *ana* that the grammar-writers have failed to understand the true origin of this form, and have supposed it to be composed of the verbal stem and a suffix *nâr* or *nâro*, so that *chhodanâro* is by them divided *chhoda-nâro*, instead of *chhodan(a)-(h)âro*.

A similar misapprehension has occurred in M. In that language, also, *âr*, *ârâ*, are used, added to the infinitive in *जे*, to make, not a noun of the agent, but a future participle, so far, at least, as the meaning goes. Thus from करणे come करणार "a doer," and करणारा, obl. करणारे. But these are used in the sense of "one who is about to do," as in G. So येणारे लोक is "the people who are coming," *i.e.* "who are expected to come." Godbol, at p. 109 of his excellent Marathi Grammar, indicates rightly the origin of this tense, and illustrates it by such nouns as Skr. कुम्भकार, Pr. कुम्भकार, M. कुम्भार. Other grammarians, however, still speak of "the participle in णारा."

This noun, used, as above explained, participially, is employed to form compound tenses, § 62. In H. and P. the noun in *vâlâ* (not *vâlâ*) is used in a future sense, as वुह जानेवाखा चा "he was just about to go." This is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes.

In O. one also hears a form in *vâlâ* added to the infinitive,

as पाह्वाओवावा "a receiver." I suspect, however, that this is a recent introduction from the Hindi. There is no *v* in Oriya, and in trying to express the sound, they imitate the Bengalis, and put that form of व which it has as the last member of a nexus (the *ya-phala* as they call it), behind an ओ. They pronounce this extraordinary combination *wa*, and not *oya*, as it should be. The natural genius of the language has no form for the agent; instead of saying "the speaker," they would say, "he who speaks," or, if educated, would use the Sanskrit agent in नृ.

B. had, in its original state, apparently no noun of the agent. In modern times, recourse has been had to Sanskrit agents, which have been used whenever required, but colloquially it is easy to do without a *nomen agentis*, by slightly varying the arrangement of the sentence, and this is generally the course pursued. Such forms as कर्ता "doer," दाता "giver," used in literature, are, of course, Sanskrit pure and simple, and as such do not concern our present inquiry.

§ 76. The pronominal suffixes which are peculiar to Sindhi among the languages of the Indian group are also affixed to verbs, and, indeed, much more copiously used in that connection than with nouns. At Vol. II. p. 334, these suffixes, as applied to nouns, were briefly treated; they require more elaborate handling under verbs. It was mentioned, at the place cited above, that in this respect Sindhi allied itself with the neighbouring Aryan group of the Iranian languages, especially with Persian and Pashtu. I am not in a position to analyze the Persian and Pashtu analogies, and with respect to the latter language, though Trumpp has shown (*Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.* vol. xxiii. p. 1) that it is in many respects more closely allied to the Indian than to the Iranian group, yet it is so evidently a border language, transitional between the two, that to admit it to the present work would carry me beyond the limits of my

undertaking. It will suffice merely to notice, without attempting to discuss, the suffixes of that language as they occur in analogy with Sindhi.

These suffixes are used to bring the object of the verb's action into one word with it, and may be thus considered as datives, accusatives, or whatever case expresses the nature of the action of any particular verb. They are the same in form as those attached to nouns, and stand thus in comparison with Persian and Pashto :

	SINGULAR.			FLURAL.		
Sindhi	1. मि	2. ह्	3. सि.	1. कं, क्	2. व	3. नि, न्.
Persian	1. آم	2. آت	3. آس.	1. مَا	2. شَمَا	3. كَان.
Pashto	1. me	2. de	3. e.	1. mu, um	2. mu	3. e.

Taking the aorist of the active verb as the simplest tense, we find the suffix simply added without effecting any phonetic changes in the termination of the verb. Thus—

Sing. 1. चाऊं हड़िचा "I let go," with suff. of 2 sing. हड़िचाइ "I let thee go," हड़िचासि "I let him go," with suff. of 2 pl. हड़िचाव "I let you go," हड़िचानि "I let them go."

Sing. 2. तू हड़िए "thou lettest go," with suff. of 1 sing. हड़िएमि "thou lettest me go," and so on.

Pl. 3. ह हड़िनि "they let go," with suff. of 3 sing. हड़िनिसि "they let him go," and so on.

The imperative is treated exactly in the same way. The respectful form takes ह्वा in the singular in this connection, not ह्जे, as हड़िचामि "Please to let me go," हड़िचासि "Please to let him go."

In the participial tenses a still greater variety of forms results from the change of the termination for gender in the third

person singular and plural. The first person, however, also undergoes changes. Thus, in the present participle used as a future, **ह्रदुसि** "I shall be," *m.*, becomes **ह्रदोसां**, and **ह्रदिचसि** "I shall be," *f.*, becomes **ह्रदीसां**. So that we get forms—

m. **ह्रदोसां** "I shall be to thee," **ह्रदोसांसि** "I shall be to him."

f. **ह्रदीसांव** "I shall be to you," **ह्रदीसानि** "I shall be to them."

So, also, the plurals **ह्रदासीं** *m.*, and **ह्रदिजसीं** "we shall be," become respectively **ह्रदासूं** and **ह्रदिजसूं**. The second person remains unchanged, merely affixing the personal suffixes. In the third person *m.* **ह्रदी** is shortened to **ह्रदु**, and *f.* **ह्रदी** to **ह्रव** or **ह्रद**; *pl. m.* **ह्रदा** becomes **ह्रद**, except with the suffix of the first person plural, as **ह्रदासूं** "they shall be to us," but **ह्रदव** "they shall be to you;" *pl. f.* remains unchanged.

The past participle used as a perfect tense undergoes analogous changes. Thus—

1 Sing. *m.* **होसि** "I was," becomes **होसां**, as **होसां** "I was to thee."

„ *f.* **उचसि** „ „ **उरसां**, „ **उरसांसि** "I was to him."

1 Pl. *m.* **उचासीं** "we were," „ **उचासूं**, „ **उचासूंनि** "we were to them."

„ *f.* **उचूंसीं** „ „ **उचूंसूं**, „ **उचूंसूंव** "we were to you."

The second and third persons remain almost unchanged. In active verbs, however, where only the 3 sing. is used, owing to the objective construction, a somewhat different system prevails. The subject, which in other languages is put in the instrumental, may in S. be indicated by a suffix, and the object being also shown by a suffix, it arises that the verb may have two suffixes at the same time. Thus "I forsook thee," would be in H. **मै ने ते तुम को छोडा**, lit. "by me thee forsaken," where the subject is in the instrumental, and the object in the accusative, case, the verb (*i.e.* participle) being left in the masc. singular, because there is no neuter in H. In M., which has a neuter,

the Bhâva or impersonal construction is used, as **म्यां तुला सोडिसे** "by me to thee released," as though it were a *me tibi relictum* (est). Sindhi expresses this sentence by one word **छडिओमाइ**, i.e. *chhadîo-mân-i* = "forsaken-by me-thee." Thus there arises a long string of forms for every possible combination of the agent and the object. A few may be given as examples; a full range will be found by those who desire to pursue the question further in Trumpp (p. 371) :

छडिओमासि "I have forsaken him."

छडिआईसि "he has forsaken him."

विहारिआईसि "he caused him to sit."

विआऊंसि "they said to her."

विआईनि "she said to them."

The suffixes denoting the agent are **ई** sing. and **ऊं** pl., which Trumpp considers to be shortened from **एन** "by him," instr. of **ही** "this," and **उनि** "by them," instr. pl. of **ह** "that," respectively.

A curious proof of the antiquity of these complicated forms with suffixes is afforded by the fact, that in connection with them the 3 sing. aorist of $\sqrt{\text{अस्}}$ appears still in its old Pr. form of **अच** (**अत्वि**), § 59. This form exists only in combination with the pronominal suffixes, whereas the ordinary form **आहे** is used both with and without suffixes. Thus they say **आहेमि** and **अचमि** "there is to me," as in the line—

जुझी अचमि गाल्हडी आउ ओहे तां ओरीचा ।

"*There is to me a secret matter, come near, then I will tell it.*"

—Trumpp, p. 350.

It is used just as in Latin "est mihi," in the sense of "I have," as **अचमि** "I have," **अधी** (for **अचर**) "thou hast," **अचसि** "he has," **अचूं** (for **अचऊं**) "we have," **अचव** "ye have," **अचनि** "they have." It is incorrect to say with Trumpp (*loc. cit.*)

that *atha* has in S. "been transferred to the plural." The verb remains in the 3 sing. throughout, and takes suffixes of both numbers and all three persons.

In the compound tenses the suffixes are attached to the auxiliaries, leaving the principal verb unchanged. Both single and double suffixes are used in this way, just as with the simple and participial tenses. Thus क्विचो होइ "thou hadst made," वहिं खिदमतगार (خِدْمَتِگار) से अने खेखारिओ हाईं (for ऊचाईं) तहिं दे निहाराईं "He looked towards that servant whom he had previously instructed," literally, "Which servant previously by him instructed, to that (one) by him looked" (Trumpp, p. 379).

It is tempting to look for the origin of this habit of using suffixes to the Semitic languages, which, from the early conquests of the Arabs in Persia and Sindh, may have had an influence upon the speech of those countries. On the other hand, however, the presence of a precisely similar habit in Italian and Spanish, seems to show that there exists a tendency to such constructions even in the Aryan family; for I suppose that even if we see in the Spanish forms a trace of Arab influence, no such motive power can be argued for any part of Italy, unless it be Sicily.

In Italian there are separate forms for the suffixed personal pronouns, and when used with a verb in the imperative or infinitive, these suffixed forms are incorporated into the verb; thus they say *rispondetemi* "answer me," *parlategli* "speak to him," *datele* "give her," *immaginarlo* "to imagine it," *offriteci* "offer us." Double suffixes are also used, as *assicuratemene* "assure me of it," *dateglielo* "give it to him," *mandateglielo* "send them to him."

So also in Spanish, *vino á verme* "he came to see me," *vengo á soccorrerle* "I come to help thee," *quiero castigaros* "I will punish you," *dejeme* "let me go," *pasandome* "as I was passing," *escribale* "write to him," *diles* "tell them." Here, also, double

suffixes may be used, as *decirtelo* "to tell *it thee*," *mostradnosla* "show her to us."

It is noticeable, however, that this habit in Italian and Spanish is modern, and does not exist in Latin, any more than it does in Sanskrit. Is it, then, a result of the confusion of forms that sprung into existence simultaneously with the decay of the old synthetic system, or is it an adoption of a Semitic principle? Diez finds the origin of the suffixed pronouns in shortened forms of the dative and accusative of Latin, which were already in use in the classical period.¹ It remains, however, to be explained how this peculiarity arose in the Romance group, in one member of the Iranian, and two members of the Indian group, only, and nowhere else in all the wide range of the Indo-European family.

§ 77. Having now gone through all the forms of the modern Indian verb, the subject may be closed by some remarks on the way in which the terminations are added to those verbal stems which end in a vowel. So many of these terminations begin with vowels, that a hiatus necessarily ensues, and the modern languages, though they do not, as a rule, object to a hiatus, do in this particular make occasional efforts to avoid it.

Hindi stems end only in long vowels—*ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *e*, *o*. Some grammarians call those stems which end in a long vowel *open roots*, and those which end in a consonant *close roots*. This terminology has nothing to recommend it, and there is no advantage in retaining it. The tenses whose terminations begin with vowels are the aorist, future, imperative, and past participle.

Before terminations beginning with *ū* or *o*, no attempt is made to soften the hiatus, but before *ā* and *e* there is sometimes inserted a *य* or *व*. As types may be taken the stems *ग* "go,"

¹ Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p.85, et seqq.

पी "drink," छू "touch," दे "give," and बो "sow." The aorist of these five is as follows :—

SINGULAR.

1. आऊं	2. जाए, जावे, जाय	3. <i>id.</i>
1. पीऊं	2. पीए, पीवे	3. <i>id.</i>
1. छूऊं	2. छूए	3. <i>id.</i>
1. देऊं, दूं	2. देवे, दे	3. <i>id.</i>
1. बोऊं	2. बोए, बोवे	3. <i>id.</i>

PLURAL.

1. जाएं, जावें, जाय	2. जाओ	3. जाएं, जावें, जाय
1. पीएँ, पीवें	2. पीओ	3. पीएँ, पीवें
1. छूएँ	2. छूओ	3. छूएँ
1. देवें, दें	2. देओ, दो	3. देवें, दें
1. बोवें, बोएँ	2. बोओ	3. बोवें, बोएँ

The common stems *de* and *le* usually suffer contraction by the elision of their final vowel, and one more commonly hears *do* "give!" *lo* "take!" *dūngā* "I will give," *lūngā* "I will take," than the full forms.

The future and imperative follow the same rule as the aorist. In the past participle of stems ending in *ā*, *च्* is inserted before the *ā* of the termination, as आ "come," p.p.p. आ-च्-आ (आया), पा "find," पाया, खा "eat," खाया. But in the poets, especially in Tulsī Das, instead of *च्* we find *च्* commonly inserted. Thus, एहि बिधि राम सबहि समुझावा "In this way Ram explained to all" (Ay-k. 457). आवा "came," बनावा "made," पावा "found," गावा "sang," for आया, बनाया, पाया, गाया respectively. Kabir uses both forms indifferently. Thus in Ram. 48, i. पढाया "caused to read," पाया "found," but in the next, Ram. 49, पावा and आवा. In the fem. sing., however, and in the pl. m. and f., the junction-letter *च्* is not used, thus आई "she came," बनाई "she made," fem. sing., आये, पाये masc. pl. As all

causals end in *ā*, these forms are of frequent occurrence, and sometimes even an *ह* is inserted, as बनाह्या. In the old *ha* future, the *ā* of the stem and the initial *i* of the termination frequently coalesce into ऐ, as—

कङ्क दिवस जगनी धर धीरा ॥

कपिन्ह सहित ऐहं रघुवीरा ॥

निशिचर मारि तुमहि के वैहि ॥

तिऊ पूर नारदादि जश गेहि ॥

“For a few days, mother, sustain thy courage,
Raghubir *will come* with the monkeys,
Slaying the demons, *will carry* thee off;
The three worlds, Nārada and all *shall sing* his praise.”

—Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 36.

where ऐहं = जाहं, वैहि = जाहं, and गेहि = गारहं; so also we find वैहि “they will find,” for पारहं, mod. पावेनि (Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 10). In other places, however, we find the junction-letter व, as पावहि, आवहि, etc.

In Panjabi the junction-letter for the aorist, imperative, and future is regularly व, as जावे “he goes,” जावेना “he will go,” but before *o* it is omitted, as जाओ “go ye,” जाओगे “ye will go.” For the past participle it is ह, as होह्या “been,” masc. sing., and is omitted before *e*, as होए “been,” masc. pl. In the three first-named tenses the व is regularly inserted in pure P., but in speaking it is now sometimes, under the influence of Hindi, omitted, and देगा is heard instead of the more characteristic देवेगा.

In Sindhi all verbal stems end in a vowel, those stems, which in other languages end in a consonant, having in that language a short *a* or *i*. In this class of stems, before the neuter infinitive in जसु, a व is inserted, as प “fall,” infin. पवसु; नि “bow,” infin. निवसु. Before the active infinitive in हसु no junction-letter is employed, as म “measure,” infin. महसु.

Stems, whether active or neuter, ending in *t* and *ū*, and sometimes those ending in *o*, shorten those vowels in the infinitive, as—

पी	“drink,”	infn.	पिचयु
पू	“string,”	„	पुचयु
धो	“wash,”	„	धुचयु
रो	“weep,”	„	रुचयु
हो	“be,”	„	हुचयु

but, on the other hand, **ढो** “carry,” has infn. **ढोचयु**; and stems in *d*, including causals, retain the long vowel, as—

गास्हा	“speak,”	infn.	गास्हायु
फेरा	“cause to turn,”	„	फेरायु.

The aorist follows generally the type of the infinitive, retaining the short vowel. In the persons **च** is inserted as in P., except before *ū* or *o*; thus **पवा** “I fall,” is declined—

Sing. 1. पवा 2. पवे 3. पवे. Pl. 1. पळ 2. पळो 3. पवनि.

The **च** may be dropped before 2 and 3 sing., as **चए** “thou sayest,” or “he says.” The common verb **डिचयु** “to give,” undergoes contraction in this, as in all the other languages; thus 2 sing. **डी** “thou givest,” not **डिए**, 3 pl. **डीनि**, not **डिचनि**.

Verbs ending in *d* insert **च्** before *d*, *ū*, and *o*, as **बुढायी** “I grow old,” **बुढाय्** “we grow old,” **बुढायी** “ye grow old.”

The imperative and other tenses follow the general rule, which may, for Sindhi, and, to a great extent, for the other languages also, be thus stated; the junction-letters are **च** and **च्**, **च** is omitted before vowels of its own organ, as *u* and *o*, and **च्** is omitted before *i* and *e*; before *d* both are employed, but preferentially **च** after short vowels, and **च्** after long ones.

Thus, in the present participle, which is used as a future, **च** is either inserted or omitted, as—

पवणु "to fall,"	पवंदो "falling."
पिचणु "to drink,"	पिचंदो "drinking."
धुचणु "to wash,"	धुचंदो "washing."

Contraction also occurs, as चवणु "to speak," चूंदो (चवंदो) ऊचणु "to be," ऊंदो (ऊचंदो) डिचणु "to give," डींदो (डिचंदो). The past participle regularly ends in रणो or चो, and the inserted व is naturally dropped before it, thus—

चवणु makes चयो, not चव्यो.

नवणु " नयो " नव्यो (Old-H. नाया).

If the stem ends in a palatal vowel or consonant, the ि of the termination is dropped, as—

बिचणु "to become," बिचो, not बीचो = बि + रणो.

कुचणु "to speak," कुचो.

सोचणु "to inquire," सोचो.

Passives naturally drop the euphonic व of the active infinitive before their palatal junction-vowel, as—

चवणु "speak," imperfect चउ, Passive चरजणु "to be spoken."

पवणु "fall," " पउ, " परजणु "to be fallen."

The stems quoted above, as shortening their radical long vowel before the termination of the infinitive active, naturally retain the long vowel in the passive, as—

पी "drink," पीजणु "to be drunk."

पू "string," पूजणु "to be strung."

धो "wash," धोरजणु "be washed."

There is very little to notice, in this respect, about G. The orthography of that language is still in so unfixd a state, that it is impossible to seize upon any principles as to junction-letters. One writer will insert them, while another omits them, or the same writer will insert them on one page and omit them on the next. Thus we find होए, होये, होच, होय written in-

differently, also **करचे** and **करए**. Until the natives of that province make up their minds as to how their language ought to be spelt, it is impossible for foreigners to evolve any laws or rules on the subject.

§ 78. Marathi is slightly more sensitive to hiatus, and has a greater fondness for the **च**-sound than the other languages. There exists, consequently, in some persons of certain tenses, a system of Sandhi for Tadbhava words and forms, which differs in its general principles from that prevailing in Sanskrit. The grammar-writers, unfortunately, either omit entirely or only casually note these important combinations. The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the subject.¹

The tenses of the M. verb, whose terminations begin with a vowel, are the aorist, imperative, future, and subjunctive, also the participles present and past, the conjunctive and infinitive. These are for the neuter verb; in the active verb the **ह**, which is inserted between the stem and termination, causes a collision of two vowels in the other tenses also. Verbal stems ending in all the vowels except *a* have here to be considered (khâ "eat," pi "drink," ghe "take").

Aorist, (in modern usage past habitual)—

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
1. खारिं	2. खारिस	3. खारि.	1. खाऊं	2. खा	3. खात.
1. पीरिं	2. पीरिस	3. पीरि.	1. पीऊं	2. प्या	3. पीत.
1. घेरिं	2. घेरिस	3. घेरि.	1. घेऊं	2. घ्या	3. घेत.

But in the 3 sing. **घे**, **पी** are used, so also **देस**, **घेस** in 2 sing., and in the 3 pl. the final **रि** is elided. In 2 sing. both **रि** and **ए** are changed to the palatal semivowel before *á*, though not before *ú*, so that we have **प्या**, **घ्या** side by side with **पीऊं** (not **पू**), **घेऊं** (not **घू**).

¹ For the illustrations to this section I have to thank Captain G. A. Jacob, Inspector of Schools, Punâ, who kindly furnished me with details which are wanting from most of the grammars.

In the future there is similarly in 2 pl. खास, यास, घ्यास, and so also in the imperative 2 pl. घ्या, या; ये "come," makes aorist 2 pl. या, future यास, and occasionally one hears ये aorist 3 sing. for the more regular येई.

In the subjunctive the semivowel occurs again, as यावा, घ्यावा, but यावा simply from ये. This last verb should, by analogy, form घ्यावा, but the double *y* in such a position would be unpronounceable, and a single *y* is therefore exhibited. It must not be supposed that the *e* of ये has simply been dropped.

For the potential the termination of the present वतेँ might have been expected to be simply added to the verbal stem, as no hiatus would thus be caused. But the origin of this form from the Skr. part. in तव्व renders this course impossible. The त of तव्व having suffered elision, there naturally results an hiatus. Thus from खादितव्वं, Pr. खादितव्वं gives खावव, the first व supplying the place of the lost द, so that in the potential we get not खावतेँ, but खाववतेँ. Similarly पीववतेँ, घेववतेँ, येववतेँ, and even in stems ending in ह, as लिह "write," लिहववतेँ.

Stems ending in *u* preserve the hiatus almost throughout, thus *dhu* "wash"—

- Aor. धुरै, धुरैस, धुरै; धुजं, धुआ (but धुत).
 Fut. धुरैज, धुरैस, धुजं; धुआस, धुतीस.
 Subj. धुआवा or धुवावा.
 Pot. धुववतेँ.

In the present participle only त is added, not रैत or सत, as खात, पीत, घेत, येत, धुत, and in the past participle the semivowel is generally used, as—

- खा p.p. खाखा "eaten."
 से ,, खाखा "put on."
 भी ,, भाखा "feared."
 वि ,, खाखा "brought forth."
 पी ,, घाखा or पिखा "drunk."

Some stems avoid the hiatus by insertion of त, as चेतना, धृतना (see § 47), which is also used in some stems ending with a consonant.

The conjunctive is खाऊन, पीऊन, वेऊन, येऊन. These are all the forms in which an initial vowel of a termination comes in contact with a final stem-vowel, and it will be observed that the change of the latter into a semivowel occurs generally before *a* or *á*, but not before *l* or *ú*. When the stem-vowel is *u* or *o*, the semivowel is added to, not substituted for, the vowel, as in धुवावा, not ध्वावा. From this and other instances in word-building, and in the formation of the case of the noun, it would appear that the labial and palatal vowels are more permanent and less liable to change in Marathi than the guttural vowel.

It is somewhat difficult to follow the author of the Portuguese grammar of the Konkani dialect, in consequence of the peculiarity of the system of transliteration which he uses, and only half explains, but there would appear to be several forms peculiar to that dialect. Thus he tells us that च्चे makes its past part. *yelo* or *ailo*, which latter he calls "marattismo," as if all Konkani were not Marathi. च्चे makes *gheilo* (perhaps च्चेरना), as well as *ghetto* (चेतना). *Qhatã* (खा) makes *ghelo* (खेना) "outros dizem *ghailo*" (खाइना), he adds, "ambos irregulares," though the latter, from a Marathi point of view, would be more normal than the actually used खाना. Perhaps the author would call it a "marattismo." Generally speaking, it would appear from the specimens of Konkani given by Burnell,¹ that the termination of the p.p. consists of लो, ली, लें, etc., added to the stem without an intermediate vowel, as बसलो "sat" (M. बसना), पडलें "fell" (M. पडना), रावली "remained" (M. राहिली), and the like.

The differences between Konkani and Marathi do not, I

¹ Specimens of South Indian Dialects (Mangalore, 1872).

think, entitle the former to be considered a distinct member of the Aryan group, but rather a dialect of the latter, which has been subjected very largely to Dravidian influences. Parallel to it, on the opposite coast of India, is the Oriya spoken in Ganjam and Vizagapatam, which, though radically Oriya, has, nevertheless, been much Dravidianized by the influence of the Telugu which surrounds it. Both Ganjam Oriya and Konkani Marathi show traces of this influence not only in pronunciation, but even in structure. There is much to be said on this subject, were this the proper place for it, and, from the known results in languages under our own eyes of Dravidian influences on Aryan speech, we might base considerations as to the probable extent and nature of those influences in former times. The subject would require a whole treatise to itself.

§ 79. In Bangali no attempt is made to avoid hiatus, the verbs ending in vowels simply add the terminations without any change. Thus चा "go" (pronounced *ǰá*), makes—

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Aorist. 1. चार् 2. चार्स 3. चाय.	1. चार् 2. चाओ 3. चान.

Present चार्तेहि, subjunctive चार्ताम, and so on.

Contraction, however, takes place in the 3 pl. of the aorist, as in चान for चाएन, हन (*hōnō*) for होएन, and in the familiar verb दे "give," almost throughout; thus we have—

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Aor. 1. दि 2. दिस 3. देय.	1. दि 2. देओ 3. देन
Pres. 1. दितेहि, etc.	
Pret. 1. दिनु 2. दिसिस 3. दिस.	1. दिसाम 2. दिसे 3. दिसेन
Fat. 1. दिव 2. दिनि 3. दिवे.	1. दिव 2. दिवाणे 3. दिवेन,

contracted from देर, देरतेहि, देरनु, देरव, etc., respectively. As a rule, however, though in ordinary speech many of the forms of stems in vowels are very much contracted, yet in

writing the full forms are always used. It is only in a few very familiar words that the contractions are admitted into the written style of the present day. The old poets, however, writing more freely and naturally, employ them frequently. Thus Bhârat Chandra, मजुन्दारे संगे जिना घोडा चढारया "He took Majumdâr along with him, having mounted him on a horse" (Mansingh, 417), where जिना is for जरना, from जरते "to take." So he constantly uses कय for कहे "says," as कोटाल हासिया कय । कहिते जाव ना हय । "The Kotwal laughing, says, Are you not ashamed to say so?" (Bidyâ-S. 356), also कन for कहिन, as हाय हाय कि कन बिधिरे "Alas! alas! what shall I say to fate?" (*ib.* 360), and दिन for देन aorist 3 sing., as चाने दिया कतदुख मध्ये दिन कतसुख "First having given how much pain, they give in between how much pleasure" (*ib.* 359).

The contractions admitted in Oriya are similar to those in Bangali, but the language does not avoid the hiatus in any way; and in both O. and B. the terminations are almost universally preceded by short *i*, which does not combine with the preceding vowel, but in pronunciation often disappears altogether. Thus they say, O. खावु "wilt thou eat?" for खावु. In a few words the vowel of the root has gone out, thus from जा "go," we have जिवि "I will go," for जाहवि; from जा "remain," infin. जिवा for जाहवा; पा "find," however, retains its vowel, as पाहवि, पाहवि, पाहवा. Also जा and चा retain their vowels everywhere except in the preterite, future, and infinitive.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTICLE.

CONTENTS.—§ 80. ADVERBS NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL.—§ 81. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS OF TIME, PLACE, AND MANNER.—§ 82. ADVERBS DERIVED FROM NOUNS AND VERBS.—§ 83. CONJUNCTIONS.—§ 84. INTERJECTIONS.—§ 85. POSTPOSITIONS.—§ 86. CONCLUSION.

§ 80. THE seven languages are rich in adverbs, and have a specially symmetrical range of pronominal adverbs, corresponding to the several classes of pronouns. The forms were given in Vol. II. pp. 336–38, in order to show their analogy to the pronouns, but nothing was said in that place about their origin; it will now be necessary to consider them more closely. The pronominal adverbs may be at once assumed to have sprung from the pronouns to which they respectively correspond, by the incorporation of some noun indicative of time, place, manner, and the like. On the other hand, the adverbs which have no pronominal meaning are clearly derived from various cases of nouns, whether substantives or adjectives. Participles, also, in virtue of their seminominal character, are used adverbially, either in their original form, or with certain modifications. Adverbs, therefore, may be divided into two classes, nominal and pronominal, with reference to their origin, and into three general categories of time, place, and manner, with reference to their meaning. To these must be added adverbs of confirmation and negation, and certain little helping words which are more adverbial in their nature than anything else. It is also to be noted that, while on the one hand simple nouns are often used adverbially, on the other hand, adverbs are

capable of being used as nouns with postpositions after them, as in H. तब की बात, lit. "the word of then," *i.e.* "the matter that took place then," अब के राजा लोग "the kings of now," *i.e.* "those of the present day."

§ 81. (1). Pronominal adverbs of time.—The near demonstrative is H. अब, G. हवे, M. एव्हा, O. एवे. All these hang together, and are apparently compounds of the Skr. वेत्ता "time," with the type of the demonstrative च, इ, or ए. The fuller form in O. shows this, it is एते बेठि, which is clearly the locative case of a masculine वेत्त, literally, "in so much time." G. has prefixed a ह, but many words in G. may be indifferently written with ह or च; there is, therefore, nothing organic about this letter when met with in this connection. In M. एव्हा also the ह seems to be somewhat anomalous. There are also, however, many other forms for "now" in the various languages, which appear to be unconnected with वेत्ता.

Hindi is mostly, however, faithful to the type in च; thus in Braj अबै, Marwari अबै, and still more clearly Bhojpuri एवेर, which approaches to the O. एवे. The same type runs through all the pronominal forms, as जब "whenever," तब "then," कब "when." Bhojpuri जेवेर, तेवेर, जेवेर, Braj अबै, तबै, कबै. The Skr. forms यदा, तदा, कदा appear in H. जद, तद, कद, and in the dialectic forms, जदै, जदी, जदू, जदा, जदा; as also तदै, etc., कदै, etc.; the forms with the palatal and labial vowels have, I think, arisen from the incorporation of the affirmative particle ही or ह "indeed," of which more further on.

Panjabi ऊब, G. S. हाबे, B. एखन, and a dialectic form in O. उकुब, all meaning "now," are to be referred, as the B. form clearly shows, to the Skr. अब "instant, moment." For the rest of the series P. has जद, तद, कद. S., however, has another type हिंअर, हेर "now," in which we may, perhaps, see the Skr. काब "time," combined with the pronoun हिंअ "this ;"

for the other members of the series it has कड़िही "whenever," तड़िही "then," कड़िही "when?" which arise from the Skr. चदा, etc., with the emphatic ही, which has changed the preceding vowel into the i which is so common in S. They also write कड़ी and कड़िहं as dialectic variations; also चा, ता (but not का), where the द of चदा has suffered elision.

G. has, besides हवे, also हमसा, हवडा, and for the rest केवारे, तेवारे, केवारे, commonly contracted into ज्वारे, etc., in which we see the Skr. वार "time." Owing to the G. peculiarity in respect of initial ह, we have also चमसा, and with a modernized form of Skr. अच "here," अचारे (अच वारे) "at this time," "now."

M. is consistent throughout एव्हा, जेव्हा, तेव्हा, केव्हा. In Old-M. forms जेधवा, etc., occur, showing that the modern च् is an inversion from ड् hv. The suggested origin from Skr. चदा, by aspirating the द and adding चा, the termination of the locative (Godbol, p. 75), is unsatisfactory. M. has also a series अच, etc., meaning "while," "as long as," which recalls H. अच with inorganic anunâsika.

O. has the fuller forms, जेते जेठे, etc., and जेवे explained above; the former is quite as frequently used as the latter, if not more so. "Time is made for slaves," and not for Oriyas.

B. जखन, तखन, etc., uniformly, pronounced jôkhôn or jôkhônô, etc. H. adds constantly ही for emphasis, as अभी "now" (अचही), कभी "sometimes" (कचही), and with the negative कभी नहीं "never."

For the indefinite pronominal adverb "ever," "sometimes," the other languages have, P. कदी (कदही), कदो, कदे, S. कडही, G. कदी, M. कधी, B. कखन, O. केवे, केवेहं. All these are repeated to signify "sometimes," as P. कदी कदी, M. कधी कधी.

The above express definite or quiescent time; for progressive time, whether past, as "since," or future "until," the adverbs above given are used as nouns with case-affixes. Thus H. अच से "from now," "henceforth," तब से "thenceforth," कब से

“since when?” अब से “from the time when,” or with the older affix तें in the poets, as in अब तें राम ब्याहि घर आये । “From the time when Ram married and came home” (Tulsi-Râm, Ay-k. 5), P. अब्दी, S. अब्दिहाको, अब्दिहोको, अब्दिहाकर; where को is probably a shortened form of कर, an oblique from कर, which we may connect with काल “time,” as in हिंअर “now.” The long á or o of *jađihá, jađiho*, as contrasted with the í of अब्दिहीं, seems to indicate an oblique form. G. हमबाषी “henceforth,” आत्वारषी, and apparently also आत्वारषी, and the rest of the series. They also say आत्वार पही “henceforth.” M. uses मग or मगि, which are not pronominal. Neither B. nor O. have special forms for this idea.

To express “until” in Old-H. लनि, लीं, ली, in modern H. लन, तकक, and तक, are affixed to the pronominal adverb, as in Chand—

तब लनि कष्ट दरिद्र तन ।
 तब लनि लघु मुहि जात ।
 अब लनि हीं आयी नहीं ।
 तो पाइ न सेवात ।

“Till then, pain and poverty of body,
 Till then, my limbs were light (*i.e.* mean),
 So long as I came not to thee,
 And worshipped not at thy feet.—Pr.-R. i. 276.

Here, as always in H., the negative has to be inserted, and we must translate अब लनि by “so long as.” This idiom is not peculiar to H., but is found in many other languages. In modern Hindi अब तक राम घर को नहीं आवे “So long as Râm comes not home,” *i.e.* “until he comes,” and the same in P.

S. has हेसीं or एसींतारि “up to this time,” ओसीं or होसींतारि “up to that time,” where तारि, as explained in Vol. II. p. 298, is Skr. खाने, which, from meaning “in the place,” has grown to mean “up to.” सीं, I suppose, is a contraction of समय “time.”

(2). Pronominal adverbs of place.—See list in Vol. II. p. 336.

The Hindi series **यहाँ, वहाँ, कहाँ, तहाँ, कहाँ**, is composed of the pronominal bases with **हाँ**, which we are justified in referring to Skr. **स्थाने**; thus **तहाँ = तत्स्थाने**. The dental is preserved in several dialectic forms (Kellogg, p. 265), as Marwari **चठे, चठी, ईठे** "here," **उठे**, etc., "there," Avadhi **एठियाँ, जोठियाँ**, Bhojpuri **एठाँ, एठाईँ**. But the Braj **इति, इत**, is, I think, by Kellogg rightly referred to the Skr. series **अथ, तथ**, etc. The Bundelkhandi form **चाणी** is probably only another way of pronouncing **चाईँ**, as we find in Old-Bengali such words as **खसाणि** for **खसाईँ** (modern **खसाइबा**). To *sthāne*, also, are to be ascribed the P. forms **इत्वे, उत्वे**, etc. S. has not only **इति, जिति**, etc., which may come from **अथ, यथ**, but **इत्वे**, which agrees with P., and **हिते**, which is, I suspect, like **हिकिडो** "one," an instance of a **ह** being put on to the front of a word without any etymological cause.

G. has various forms **जाही, जाहां, हहीं, जहीजा** "here," and the same variety through all the series. The adverbial part agrees with H. Shortened forms **जाँ, जाँ, जाँ**, and even **जाँ, ताँ, काँ**, are also in use.

M. agrees closely with P. and S. in its series **जेजे, जेजे**, etc., where the final anuswāra, like that of Bhojpuri **एठाईँ**, preserves the *n* of *sthāne*. But **जोठे** "where," has the cerebral.

O. having first made *sthāna* into **ठा**, proceeds with the declension through its own affixes, and has thus a modern locative **ठारे**, in **एठारे, सेठारे**. The final **रे** is often dropped, and **एठा, सेठा**, or even shortened **एठि, सेठि** are used. B. uses **स्थाने**, which seems to come from **स्थाने** on the analogy of **खंभो = खंभ** (Var. iii. 14) and **खानु = खानु** (*ib.* iii. 15). For "where," however, it has a more regular form **कोचा**, in older Bengali **कोचाय**, as **तार मत सन्धासिनी पारच कोचाय** "Where shall I find a female saint like her?" (Bharat, Bidyá-S. 399), where the final **च** for **ए** is a relic of the *e* of *sthāne*. We also find **हेचा** and **हेचाय** "here," etc.

In the case of the adverbs of this group, as in those of time, the case-affixes are used, as H. **कहाँ से** "from where?" "whence?" G. **साँही ची** "hence," P. **कित्वाँ** "whence?" But this practice is only in force to imply motion *from* a place. To express motion *towards* a place a separate set is used.

In classical H. the adverbial element is **धर**, as **इधर** "hither," **उधर** "thither." The dialectic forms are very various. Bhojpuri has **एन्हर**, **उन्हर**, as also **एने**, **उने**, etc.; in eastern Behar one hears **एन्हर**, **हेमर**, and many others. Kellogg quotes also a curious form from Rîwâ **एही कित**, **एही कद्योत**, or **एही मुंह**. If we take the original of all these forms to be **धर**, that is a word of many meanings both in Skr. and H.; but I am disposed to connect the series with M. **म्होर** "face," G. **मोहणुं id.**, a diminutive from Skr. **मुख**, so that the older adverbial element would be **म्हर**, as in Bhojpuri, whence **म्ह**, which would, by a natural process, glide into **न्धर** and **धर**. For the Rîwâ form I can suggest no origin.

The S. and M. forms seem to be connected, and with them I would associate the common O. expressions **ए आदि** "in this direction," "hither" (**जो आदि**, **को आदि**, etc.), which are locatives, and **ए आरु**, etc., "from this place," "hence," which are ablatives. The Sindhi adverb, as usual in that language, is written in a dozen ways, but the simplest form is **एदि** "hither," and **एही** "hence," which, like O., are respectively locative and ablative. Marathi has what is apparently a fuller form **इकडे** "hither," locative, where the adverbial portion is **कड** "a side," said to be from Skr. **कट** "hip, loin." It has also an ablative series **इकडून** "hence." May we not here throw out a crumb for our Non-Aryan brethren? There is a long string of words in our seven languages of the type *adda*, and our Sanskrit dictionaries give $\sqrt{\text{अद्}}$ "to join," also "to stop." On the other hand, Telugu has *ikkada* "here," *ikkadiki* "hither," which looks very like M. *ikade*. So, also, in Telugu *akkada* "there." All the Dravidian languages have a root *add*, which,

in various forms, has a range of meanings such as "to be near," "close," "to cross," "to stop," and the like. They may have borrowed from the Aryans, or the Aryans from them. It by no means follows, as the opposite party always assume, that when a word is common to both groups, it must have been originally Dravidian. In the O. expression **आइ** is a noun meaning "direction," and is used in that sense independently of its adverbial employment with the pronoun.

(3). Pronominal adverbs of manner.—The Hindi series **चौं**, **ज्यौं**, **खौं**, etc., and for the near demonstrative and interrogative respectively softened forms **धूं** and **खूं**, vary very little in the dialects. Marwari has **ऊं**, **इऊं** "thus," and, together with Braj and Mewari, has the far demonstrative, which is wanting in the classical dialect, **वौं** or **वूं**. Mewari adds **कर** and **ना**, as **ईकर**, **ईना** "thus," which Kellogg looks on as from Skr. **इ** and **नम** respectively, and rightly so; for even in classical H. we have **कूकर** "how?" and in Chand and the poets **करि** or **कर (के)** are added to all this pronominal series at will.

The older form of this group is still preserved in the Purbi form **इम** or **इमि**, **जिमि**, **तिमि**. Chand has both this series and the modern one in **चौं**, as **चौं भयो रिषि अवधूत** । "Thus the Rishi was absorbed in thought" (Pr.-R. i. 48), **खौं रह कएष प्रमानं** ॥ **ज्यौं जानि कोषिदं खोयं** ॥ "Thus this story is proved, its learned folk know" (*ib.* xiii. 5), **पदमावती इम के चखी** । **हरषि राज प्रथिराज** । "King Prithiraj, rejoicing, thus (*ima*) led away Padmāvati" (*ib.* xx. 35), **तही सु केम किखी गमन** । "How can one go there?" (*ib.* i. 90). Tulsi Das has **इमि**, **जिमि**, etc., as in **तन पखेउ कदखी जिमि जापी** "Her body was in a sweat, she trembled as a plantain-tree (trembles)."—Ram. Ay-k. 131.

M. may be excluded, as it has no series of this type, but merely the neuter of the adjective pronoun, as **असें**, **असें**, **तसें**. All the other languages have closely allied words. B. **इमन**, **इमत**, **इमने**, **इमते**, "thus," **जेमन**, etc.; the first two are nominatives, the last two locatives. O. **इमति**, **जेमति**, locatives; also

ए परि, the pronominal type, with a postposition. G. एम, जेम, where the termination has been lost, also for demonstrative आम. This series is sometimes written जम, तम, कम, but जेम is the more common, as in कीर्ति चह गळु गी विसीर्य जेम सूरज ना पसरे कीर्त ॥ "The fame of Nala was spread abroad, as spread the rays of the sun" (Premānand in H.-D. ii. 71).

Next in order comes the Old-Purbi H. ह्मि, etc., and, with the nasal weakened, probably through an intermediate form ह्व, and change of the semivowel to its vowel, P. ह्ळ and ऐळ *aiūn*, and the full series जिळ, तिळ, किळ, as well as one without the *i*, जळ, तळ, etc., to which is allied H. ज्जौ, etc., for जिउं. S. rejects the labial element in हंच, हीच, हएं, and the rest of the series.

In this instance B. and O. preserve the fuller forms, and the other languages fall away by degrees, in the order given above. The whole group points, in my opinion, clearly to a type in मत् or वत्. This is still more clearly seen by comparing the pronominal adjective of quality in B. and O. जेमन्त, सेमन्त, for मन्तो is the regular Prakrit form of the masc. मत्, just as वन्तो is of वत् in Skr. It is true that the existing Skr. series means rather quantity than manner, thus—

इयान्, इयती, इयत् "so much,"

कियत् "how much?"

एतावान्, °वती, °वत् "so much,"

यावत् "as much as."

But the affixes *mat* and *vat* imply possession, and thus naturally pass over into the idea of manner. It seems that we have in the modern group this affix added to the ordinary range of pronominal types, and thus a formation of a later kind, rather than a direct derivation from the Skr. Kellogg's suggestion of a derivation from a Skr. series in *tha*, of which only *ittham* and *katham* are extant in the classical writings, fails to account for

the Old-Purbi and G. forms, as well as for those in B. and O. Also the S. form ईच seems to be more naturally referred to an earlier *emana*, through *enan*, than to *ittham*, unless, indeed, we regard the anuswāra as inserted to fill the hiatus left by elision of *itth*. S. does, undoubtedly, insert anuswāra to fill a hiatus; but as the cognate languages have a ञ just where the anuswāra in S. occurs, it is more natural to regard the one as a weakening of the other, and the final anuswāra in H. and P. as the same, pushed one syllable forwards, so that H. ज्ञीं would be for an older form जिंढ. As the change, whatever it was, was completed before our earliest writer Chand's days, there is no actual proof forthcoming.

§ 82. Adverbs derived from nouns and verbs.—Under this head may be classed certain words such as those given in Vol. II. p. 296, which are either postpositions or adverbs, according to the connection in which they are used. In either case they are, by derivation, locative cases of nouns. Some are peculiar to one or two languages, while others are common, in one form or another, to the whole group. I do not, of course, undertake to give them all, but only a selection of those most commonly used, so as to show the practice of the languages in this respect. There are, for instance, H. आगे “before,” and पीछे “behind,” which are used adverbially in the sense of “formerly” and “afterwards” respectively, that is, with reference to time, and in this sense take, like the pronominal adverbs, the case-affixes, as आगे की बात “the former matter,” lit. “the matter of formerly,” पीछे के दुख में कइंगा नहीं “I will not tell the suffering that followed,” lit. “the suffering of afterwards.” So also with नीचे “below,” and the other words given at Vol. II. p. 296.

Strictly referring to time definite are H. आज “to-day,” P. आज, S. आज, etc. (Vol. I. p. 327), from Skr. आज; also H. दस from Skr. दस “dawn.” This word has two meanings,

it is used for both "yesterday" and "to-day." In rustic H. we have the forms कास, कासि, कासह, and कसह (see Vol. I. p. 350). As the Skr. means only "dawn" in general, it is used in the moderns in the double sense, but in cases where the meaning might not be clear from the context, a word meaning past is employed when "yesterday" is intended, and a word meaning future when "to-morrow" is implied. It also takes case-affixes, as कस की लडाईं में घायल हुआ "He was wounded in yesterday's battle," but कस की लडाईं में अदि घायल हुंगा "If I shall be wounded in to-morrow's battle." G. कासे, S. कसह, कासह, M. कास.

So also are used the following :—Skr. परःकस् "the day after to-morrow." In the moderns it has also the sense "the day before yesterday," as H. परसों, and dialects परसों, परहों, परों. P. परसों, S. परिहं, परिहंको, seem to be used only in the first meaning. G. परम, M. परवा. O. has पर always in combination with दिन, and where the sentence does not of itself sufficiently indicate the meaning, they add the words "gone" and "coming" to express it more clearly, मत पर दिन "the day before yesterday," and आसता पर दिन "the day after to-morrow."

H. goes a step further still, and has तरसों "three days ago," or "three days hence," where the first syllable is probably Skr. त्रि "three." Similarly S. तरिहं, but also with rejection of initial त, अरिहं. Kellogg quotes dialectic forms in H. अतरसों, तरों, तरों. In H. we have even a still further गरसों "four days ago," which is rarely, however, used, and the initial of which, I conjecture, comes from चन्व, as though it were for चन्व तरसों "another day (besides) three days ago."

H. सवेर "early," "betimes," and अवेर, or more usually अवेर "late," are Skr. स and अ, compounded with वेसा respectively. S. सवेर and अवेर, also अवेस, besides the adjectivally used forms सवेरो and सवारो, as well as अवेसो. In this sense is also used H. सकासे, सकारे, O. and B. *id.*; in O. it is frequently used in

the sense of "early in the morning," also "early to-morrow morning," as **आजि चार पारिनुं नहिं सकासे जिनुं** "To-day we shall not be able to go, we will go early to-morrow morning." H. here uses **तडवे**, conjunctive participle of **तडना** "to break," as we should say "at break of day;" also **भोर** "dawn" is used in H. and O., **भोरे** in B. for "at dawn;" where G. has **वाहायो**, M. **उबा** (Skr. **उदय** "sunrise"). Common also is Skr. **प्रभाते**, B. *id.*, G. **परभाते**, of which the Oriyas make **पाहावे** "at dawn;" in Eastern Bengal one hears **पाहा**. The H. **भोर** is probably connected with the Skr. **√भा** in some way not very clear. G. has a curious word **मळसवे** "at dawn," probably connected with **मळवुं** "to meet," and, like Skr. **सम्भा**, indicating the meeting of darkness and light.

"Rapidly," "quickly," "at once."—This idea is expressed by derivatives of the Skr. **√त्वर**, principally from the p.p.p. **स्वरितम्**, which is used adverbially already in Skr. The forms are: H. **तुरंत**, M. **तूर्ते**, G. **तुरत**, **तरत**, **स्वरीत**, S. **तुर्तुं**, O. B. **तुरंत**, **स्वरित**. M. has a peculiar word **सवकर** "at once, quickly," Skr. **सव** (**√क्ष्** "to cut") "a minute," M. **सववे** "to flash, twitch, move quickly." It is not found in any other language. Commoner, however, is H. **झट** "quick!" reduplicated **झटपट**, M. **झटवन**, S. **झटपटि** and **चटिपटि**, O. **झट**, **झटपट**, B. **झटि**, from Skr. **झटिति**. "Immediately" is also expressed in M. by **तत्काळ**, O. and B. **तत् क्षणात्**, but these are pedantic. H. P. M. and S. have also a word **अचानक**; H. also **अचानक** "suddenly," "unexpectedly," corresponding to which is G. **अचाचेते**, **अचितो**, pointing to a derivation from **च** and **√चिन्** "to think," though I am disposed also to remember Skr. **चमत्कार**, H. **चौक**, in this connection. O. and B. use **हडात्**, literally ablative of Skr. **हट**, meaning "by force." It is used generally of sudden and forcible action, but also in sentences where no force, only surprise, or a sudden fright, occurs. Similarly in H. and G. **एकाएक** "all of a sudden," M. **एकाएकी**, are used.

Among adverbs of place, considerable divergences exist, each

language having a large stock of words peculiar to itself, in addition to those which are common to the whole group. Sindhi is rich in words of this class, most of which are of somewhat obscure origin. Thus we find a small group with the typical ending in **उ**, as **आडो** "opposite," **ओडो** "near," **ओडिरो** diminutive of the preceding. Peculiar to S. is also **वेद्यो** "near," with its diminutive **वेद्यिरो**. **सूधो** "accompanied by," O. **सुधा**, is by Trumpp referred to Skr. **साधँ** "with," and **सधो** "near," to **संहित**, probably correctly. See the remarks on the postposition **से** in Vol. II. p. 274, and on the Nepali ablative in **सित**, Vol. II. p. 235. From adverbs with the affixes **आडो** and **आरो** are formed certain adjectives which may, in their turn, be again used adverbially as well as adjectively, that is, they may either stand alone uninflected, or may agree with a substantive in gender and number. Thus—

ओर "on this side,"	ओराहों "somewhat on this side."
आने "in front,"	आनाहों "somewhat in front."
पोरते "behind,"	पोरताहों "somewhat behind."
मचे "upon,"	मचाहों "somewhat higher up."
मंझे "in,"	मंझाहो } "somewhat inside."
	मंझारो }

This last word recalls the old poetic Hindi **मंझार** used in Chand (see Vol. II. p. 293). They may also take the feminine ending **आहीं**, as **चनाहीं**, **मचाहीं**.¹

Simple ablatives or locatives of nouns are also used adverbially, as—

पुष्पी } "from behind,"	abl. of पोउ "the rear."
पुष्पी }	
पुठिचा "from behind,"	,, पुठि "the back."

¹ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 385.

मघा "from upon,"	abl. of मघो "the head."
मघे <i>id.</i>	loc. of <i>id.</i>
माने "at all,"	" मानु "place."
मूरि "completely,"	" मूर "capital," "stock-in-trade."
मूरहिं } <i>id.</i>	abl. of <i>id.</i>
मूरारिं }	
महंदि "before,"	loc. of महंदु "beginning."
महंदा <i>id.</i>	abl. of <i>id.</i>
पारे "on the other side,"	loc. of पाए "the other side."
पारा "from the other side,"	abl. of <i>id.</i>
चंदरे "within,"	loc. of चंदर "the inside."
चंदरा } "from within,"	abl. of <i>id.</i>
चंदरे }	
विषे "in the midst,"	loc. of विषु "the midst."
हडे } "at all,"	" हडु "the core."
हडेही }	
हेटे "below,"	" हेडु "the bottom."
हेटा "from below,"	abl. of <i>id.</i>

Sindhi thus preserves the case-endings more strictly than the other languages. The latter mostly take the Prakrit locative, or ablative, and entirely reject the terminations.

Hindi has **अनत** "elsewhere," Skr. **अन्वय, निकट** "near," also **नेरे** (dialectically **नेर** and **नेरौ**); **परे** "on the other side," **भीतर** "within," Skr. **अन्वयारे, बाहिर, बाहर** "outside," Skr. **बहिस्,** and others.

M., like S., has **मागिं**, but in the sense of "before," also **पुढे** "before," **पच्चाड** "beyond," **वर** "above," **जवळ** "near," which are peculiar to itself. In the other languages there is nothing deserving special mention; the subject has already been treated in Vol. II. p. 296.

Adverbs of manner.—While the adverbs of place, being also, in their nature, postpositions, and as such used to form cases, do not call for special mention, adverbs of manner are not so used,

and it is to them that the term adverb, in its more special sense, correctly applies. Such words as *dge* "before," *ptchhe* "behind," and the others, may, indeed, be properly regarded as adverbs when they are used alone, but when in conjunction with nouns, they become true postpositions, giving to the relations of the noun a more extended application. Adverbs of manner, on the other hand, are, for the most part, adjectives used adverbially, and this practice is common in all Aryan languages. In Sindhi, which preserves distinctions obliterated in the other languages, adjectives may, as pointed out above, be used adverbially by being undeclined, or, in their true use as adjectives, by agreeing with the subject in gender and case. Thus, to quote the instances given by Trumpp :¹

ओचितोई कुए हिकिडे उन भाडे जे भरि में नर किओ
 "By chance one mouse made a hole near that granary."

Here *ochito-t* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc. with emphatic *t*, and although by the accident of the construction it is in the same case as the subject *kue* "a mouse," yet it is evidently used adverbially.

तडिहीं जर हारे जास घणो रोई माउ वरिओसि
 "Then having shed tears much, having wept much, his mother returned."

Here *ghano* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc., and clearly does not agree with *madü* "mother," which is feminine; it must be regarded as used adverbially.

जुकू जगनि कोसिज डाढा तपनि डीह
 "The winds strike hot, the days burn fiercely."

In this sentence I do not think we should regard the adjectives as used adverbially; *जुकू* "winds," is a noun in the nom. pl. fem. and *कोसिज* "hot" agrees with it, so also *डीह*

¹ Sindhi Grammar, p. 386.

“days,” is nom. sing. masc. and **डाहा** “fierce, excessive” (Skr. **दुह**), agrees with it; so that we might more literally translate, “the hot winds strike, the fierce days burn.”

In Marathi and Gujarati also, where adjectives have the full range of three genders, they are often made to agree with the noun in constructions, where in English they would be used adverbially. When intended to be adverbially used, they stand in the nom. sing. neuter, ending in **ऐ** M. and **उ** G. In Bengali and Oriya, where no gender exists, it is impossible to draw the same line of distinction, and this remark applies also to that numerous class of adjectives in Hindi and Panjabi, as also in all the other languages, which are indeclinable, or which, ending in mute *a*, do not vary their terminations. Those adjectives in H. and P. which end in *ā* masc. and *ī* fem., when used adverbially, stand in the former gender and do not vary with the noun.

§ 83. Conjunctions.—In Hindi the common word for “and” is **और**, Old-H. **अव**, **अवर**, from Skr. **अपर** “other.” In B. and O. it loses the final consonant, B. **ओ**, O. **अउ**. In B., however, **एवं**, pronounced *ebong*, is very common; and **आर** “also.” P. **अते**, often shortened into **ते**, probably from Skr. **अति** “at the end,” “afterwards,” as well as **अर** (**अपर**). S. **अउ**, **अइ**, **ई** or **इ**, in which the fondness of S. for the *i*-sound comes out. G. uses generally **तथा** literally “then.” It has besides **ए** and **ओ** for “also,” which belong to the group from **अपर**. G. **अने**, shortened **ने**, I am disposed to connect with P. **अते**, and ascribe to Skr. **अति**. In the former case the **त** has been lost, in the latter the **न**. It may, however, be allied to M. **आधि**, **अधखी** “and,” from Skr. **अन्व** “other.” In all the languages, however, the shorter conjunction **च** is in use, side by side with the words given above. The ordinary Skr. **च** has left no descendants. The Gipsies use *te* or *ta*, which agrees with P., also *u*, which is Persian **و**.

“Also.”—H. भी, Skr. अपि हि, Pr. वि हि. The various steps from अपि downwards are all retained in S. पि, वि, मि (for विहि), and भी. The other forms पुषु, पुषि, पिषि, are from Skr. पुनर् “again,” and show a gradual change from the *u* to the *i*, in accordance with S. proclivities. P. नाळे means literally “near to,” locative of नाळ “near.” G. पक्ष, meaning also “but,” is from पुनर्. B. uses चो, and O. मि.

“But” is very frequently expressed even in Hindi by the Arabic words लेकिन لیکن, बلكه بلكه, and Persian मगर مگر; and in the other languages also. Pure Sanskrit are परंतु and किन्तु, as well as वरश्च (Skr. वरं). In Hindi पर (Skr. परं) is also used, and in P., which also uses अपर, and a strange form ऐपर, in the initial syllable of which we may recognize an incorporation of the near demonstrative pronoun, so that it means “rather than this.” P. has also मजवा, मजो, probably corruptions of म्गर. Peculiar to P. and S. are the forms P. हवा, S. हवा, हवो, and emphatic हवाई and हवोई “but rather.” These are ablatives from हव, and the idiom may be paralleled by our English phrase “on the other hand.” S. has also पर “but,” and पक्ष, in which latter it agrees with G. It also uses मगरि, having added a final *i* to म्गर. G. and M., in addition to पक्ष, use also परंतु, O. किन्त and पर, B. किन्तु and वरं.

“Or.”—H. वा, अथवा, which are Skr., with व for व. The Arabic वा و is very common, and commoner still is कि, probably shortened from Skr. किंवा. This कि is colloquially common in nearly all the languages. G. writes it के, where *e* is short. M. lengthens the vowel and retains the nasalization कीं, also using अथवा, as does G. P. के, अथवा, and या. S. के and जो. B. uses several varieties of किंवा, as किम्वा, किवा, कि, and वा, also अथवा. O. the same.

“If.”—Skr. यदि, generally pronounced and written अदि, is universal. H. shortens it into अद् and अे (= अद्, with loss of द्) and जो, by rejection of final *i*, and द् goes out, its place

being supplied by व and उ; thus अद् = अव = अउ = जो. Persian **कर** کَر is also very common. P. **जे** and **जेकर**. This last introduces **कर** for **करि** "having done." S. **जे**.

"Although."—Skr. **अद्यपि** is used in B. O., also in H., but more common is **जो भी** "if even." P. has **भविं**, literally "one may think," or "it may seem." B. also uses **अदि जो** "if even." S. **तोडे, तोखे**, sometimes with **जे** prefixed, **जे तोडे**; this, too, is literally "if even," for **तोडे** alone is used to mean "either," "even," and is apparently really the correlative **तो** (**तउ = तदि**) with a diminutive affix. It is not found in the other languages. G. **जो पख** "but if." In all cases there is a correlative; thus to H. **जो** or **जो भी** answers **तो** or **तो भी** "then," or "even then;" to P. **भविं** answers **तां भी**; to G. **जो पख**, answers **तो पख**, and so in all. In B. and O., as in written H., the correlative is Skr. **तथापि** "yet."

"Because."—H. **क्यूकि** literally "for why." B. and O. use Skr. **कारण** "cause," and **जे हेतु** or **जे हेतुक**. G. **माटे**, probably Skr. **मात्रिणे**, which is also sometimes used in O. in the sense of "only," "merely," "for the simple reason that." G. has also **केमके** "for why," and shorter **काने**. S. **जेलां, जेल्हं**, where the last syllable is for **कार्** "for" (see Vol. II. p. 260). S. also uses a string of forms with **छा** "why?" as **छाजो, छा कार्**, and **छो ता, छो जो**. The correlatives "therefore," etc., take the form **तेला** "etc."

These instances may suffice to show the general principles on which the languages proceed in forming their conjunctions. There is, as in other respects, a general similarity of process, accompanied by variations of development.

§ 84. Interjections.—The various spontaneous or involuntary sounds, some of them hardly articulate, by which sudden emotions are expressed, are scarcely susceptible of rigid scientific analysis in any language. Everywhere we find ha! ho! or ah! oh! and the like. Surprise, fear, disgust, delight, and

other sentiments are often displayed by grunts, shakes, turns of the head, or movements of the hands, and among the people of India the hands play so large a part in conversation that they may almost be said to speak for themselves. It is only the Englishman who can converse with his hands in his pockets.

In Hindi the principal interjections are हे, हो, अहो, ओ "Ho!" or "Oh!" हे is used to superiors, as हे धर्मावतार "O incarnation of justice!" which is the common method of addressing a Magistrate or Judge, हे प्रभु "O Lord!" हे पिता "O father!" हो, अहो, and ओ, have no special tone of respect or disrespect. Sorrow is shown by आ, आह, हाए, हा हा, अहह "alas!" whence the common cry of native suitors, or persons applying to a ruler for redress, दोहाए literally "twice alas!" One often hears *dohâe khudâwand*, *dohâe Angrez Bahâdûr*, which is as much as to say "grant me justice," or "listen to my complaint." Others are छि छि "fie!" चुप "hush!" ऊह, ओह "ah!" a cry of pain; घू घू disgust; हत तेरी, an expression with a suspicion of indelicacy about it, like too many of the native ejaculations, meaning "begone," and at times with a menacing tone "how dare you?" I suspect the word now spelt हत was originally हट from हटना "to go away," "be stopped," and तेरी the feminine genitive of तू "thou," is explained by such filthy expressions as तेरी मा "thy mother." Two men are quarrelling, and one says to the other "âh, terî mâ," "oh thy mother." The person addressed at once understands that some gross and filthy insult to his mother is intended, for indiscriminate foul abuse of each other's female relations is a favourite weapon with the natives of India. Thus the innocent word साला or शाला "brother-in-law," has become the lowest term of abuse in these languages, the obscene imagination of the people immediately grasping the idea involved in this assumption of relationship.

Panjabi has mostly the same as Hindi. A very favourite

interjection of surprise with Panjabis, though it is also used by the other languages, is वाह, and doubled वाह वाह. The simple-minded Panjabi says "wâh! wâh!" to every new thing he sees, and this favourite exclamation helps to form the once terrible war-cry of the fighting Sikhs, "wâh wâh! fatîk guru jî!"

All the other languages have these common interjections, several of which are also Persian or Arabic more or less corrupted. Thus the Persian شاد باش *shâd bâsh*, "be joyful!" is used everywhere as a term of encouragement, "well done!" and is used to stimulate workers to increased efforts, to express approbation, or to kindle flagging courage. It appears mostly without the د, as *shabâsh*, *shabâshe*, *sabâs*, according to the language in which it is used.

A few special remarks are due to a very widespread word which is claimed by the Non-Aryan writers, अरे, अरे or रे. This is used to call inferiors, to rebuke impertinence, in scolding or quarrelling, and in most languages takes also a feminine form अरी, री, री. Dr. Caldwell shows¹ that this word is also in use in the Dravidian group, and is there understood to mean "O slave!" Hemachandra, however (ii, 201), knows it as used in addressing (*sambhâshane*), and in dalliance (*ratikalahe*). For reproach (*kshepe*) he prescribes हरे. I do not dispute the Non-Aryan origin of this word, but it must have found its way into Aryan speech at a very early date, and has there, to a great extent, lost its sense of rebuke, for it is often used merely to call attention, and in friendly condescension to an inferior, and there has sprung up beside it a form अरे, used also in the same tone. The interchange of अ and र need cause no difficulty, being, especially in early writers, extremely common. There does not appear to be any Sanskrit origin for this word, and the fact that in the

¹ Dravidian Comparative Grammar, p. 440 (first edition).

Dravidian group it can be traced to a definite meaning, is one which carries great weight.

In O. and B. **रे** is only used in calling males; when addressing females, O. uses **सौ**, and B. **मौ**. Thus O. **आस सौ, मा बजारकु जिवा** "Come along, mother, let us go to the bazar;" B. **जिबेदये धनी शुभ मौ जगनि** "The lady entreats, 'hear me, oh my mother'" (Bhârat, Vid.-S. 338). **सौ, सौसौ** are also used in B. in contempt or reproof. Both these words seem to be fragments of **सौनी**, from Skr. **सौक** in the sense of "person," the word **सौन** or **सौनार** being used to indicate the women of the speaker's family, and especially his wife, whom it is not considered proper to speak of directly.

§ 85. It is necessary to revert to the subject of postpositions, although they were partially discussed in Vol. II. p. 295, because in that place they were regarded in only one of their two aspects, namely, as factors in the declensional system. Here they must be looked at as parts of speech, corresponding to prepositions in the western Aryan languages.

In Hindi, in addition to the postpositions mentioned in Vol. II., may be cited as very common the following, some of which are also used as adverbs. Thus **बाहिर** "without" (Skr. **बहिस्**) is used as a postposition with the genitive case, as **घर के बाहिर** "outside the house," or even without the genitive sign, as **द्वार बाहिर** "outside the door." So also **पार** "across," "on the other side of," is very commonly used with the direct form of the noun in the phrase **नदी पार** "across the river," "on the other side of the river." So also **समेत** "with," "accompanied by," as **सूर सामंत समेत** "accompanied by his peers and paladins," the meaning of the postposition from **सम् + आ + इ** requires this construction.

बीच "in," "in the middle of," **सिरे** "at the end of" (Skr. **शिरस्**), **कणे** "near to," "at the house of" (Skr. **कर्णे**), **संग** "with," **हाथ** "by means of," **ही** "at," "at the house of"

(Skr. **स्नाने**),¹ are also colloquially common, both with and without the sign of the genitive, but more frequently with it.

Panjabi has **बोळ** "near," literally, "in the bosom of," **बोळो** "from the side of," **बिच्** "in," which is the regular sign of the locative, **पार** "on the other side," and **पार वार** "on both sides" (of a river, valley, etc.), as well as the Hindi words given above.

The postpositions in Sindhi are more numerous, and are divided, more clearly than in the other languages, into two classes, those which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and those which are added to the genitive. Of the first class are **भर** or **भरि** "on," "leaning on" (Skr. **भर**), where in H. **भर** rather means "full," as **बोस भर** "a full *kos*;" **तोडि** and **तोडि** "up to," which Trumpp regards as an emphatic locative from **तोडु** "end;" **जा**, **जिच्च**, **जीच्च**, **जिएं**, "like" (Skr. **यथा**); **डां**, **डांह**, **डे** "towards," with an ablative form **डहा** "from the direction of" (perhaps from Skr. **दिग्**); **रे**, **रिच्च**, "without" (Skr. **च्यते**); **सां**, **साबु**, **सें**, **सेबु** "with" (Skr. **सम**; cf. B. **सने**).

S. **सूधां** "along with," H. **सूधा** and **सुधा** "with," O. **सुधा** or **सबु सुधा** "together with," "all taken together," from Skr. **सार्द्धम्**, according to Trumpp and others, but the O. usage seems to refer rather to Skr. **सुद्ध**, in the sense of **संसुद्ध** "completed."

S. **सींआ** "up to," "till" (Skr. **सीमा**), P. **सीं** and **सीउं**, appears occasionally to be used as a postposition, and one or two others of less importance complete the list.

¹ Platts (Grammar, p. 195), from whom I take this list, is the first writer to give the real origin and meaning of this word, which I, in common with most of my countrymen, had hitherto confounded with *yahān* "here." There was no need for Platts to be so very dogmatic and arrogant about this and one or two similar small discoveries. He should try to bear the weight of his stupendous erudition more meekly. We may be thankful, however, to him for condescending to make a few mistakes occasionally, to bring himself down to our level. Such are the remarkable bit of philology in note 1, page 164, and his remarks on the intransitive in notes to pp. 171, 174. He who undertakes to correct others, should be quite sure he is right himself first.

Of the second class are वाझा, वाझु, वाझों "without," P. वाझ, वाझों *id.* This rather means "owing to the absence of," as in the passage quoted by Trumpp, तान सूरिह भान्वा सेरुह देखण वाझों दोस जे "Then they were considered by the hero as thorns *in the absence of* his friend." It is probably connected with Skr. $\sqrt{\text{बध्}}$ in the sense of being bound or impeded. विना "without" (Skr. विना), is also common in H. P. B. and O. In M. विना, and G. विना and वना (*wind, wanā*).

S. कार् and कार "for the sake of," correspond to H. P. लिये, and are used like it, either with or without the genitive particle; but in S. the meaning is the same in both cases, while in H. it differs; thus उस लिये "for that reason," but उस के लिये "for the sake of him."

While in the other languages the postpositions, when not used as case-signs, are almost invariably joined to the genitive with the masculine oblique case-sign, in Sindhi they may take the ablative or accusative. Thus आडो "in front," may take the accusative. It is probably like O. आदो "in the first place," or with a negative आदो न "not at all," "at no time;" thus आदो सेठि मजा नहि literally "to begin with, he did not go there," that is to say, "he never went there at all," locative of Skr. आदि "beginning."

अंदरि "within," Skr. अन्तर, but more probably from Persian أندر . जोडो "near to," धारा "apart, without," कारणे "for the sake of," contracted from कारणे; मथे "upon," loc. of मथो "head," बाणे "like to," वेझो "near to," are also used in the same way.

In Marathi, besides the postpositions which are exclusively employed in forming cases, there are some which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and others which require the genitive case-sign.

Of the former kind are वर "on" (Skr. उपरि), which is generally written as one word with the noun, as घरावर "on

the house," उबावर "till to-morrow." A longer form is वरता, which is declined as an adjective, generally meaning "up." Others are बाहेर "out," चात "in," कडे "at," करून "by means of," वाचून "without," विषयी "about," "concerning," literally "in the matter (of)," मागे "behind," "formerly," पुढे "before," "in future," खाली "under."

There is nothing specially worthy of note in the remaining languages which do not vary from Hindi very widely, either in the words they use, or in the manner of using them.

§ 86. The survey of the seven languages is here ended; the thinness of matter and illustration, in some respects, is due to the want of material, the difficulty of procuring books, and the absence of persons who might be consulted. Others, who enjoy greater advantages in these respects, will, in future times, supplement and supersede much that is defective and erroneous in this outline. Amru'lkais sings—

وَمَا الْمَرْؤُ مَا دَامَتْ حُشَّاشَةٌ نَفْسِهِ
بِمُدْرِكِ أَطْرَافِ الْمُحْطُوبِ وَلَا آلِ

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The Roman numeral indicates the volume, and the Arabic numeral the page. Only those words are here given which form the subject of some discussion, or illustrate some rule. A hyphen before a word indicates that it is a termination.

NOTE.—When the anuswāra precedes a strong consonant, it is not the nasal breathing, but the nasal letter of the varga of that consonant, and is therefore the first element in a mixed nexus. It must be looked for at the end of each varga.

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